LANDSCAPE AND CRISIS IN NORTHERN ENGLAND: THE REPRESENTATION OF COMMUNAL TRAUMA IN FILM AND PHOTOGRAPHY

RUPERT CHARLES ASHMORE

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of Northumbria University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

VOLUME ONE OF TWO

Research undertaken in the School of Arts and Social Sciences

July 2010

Abstract

Communal trauma is a culturally constructed ascription. Social agents propose that disastrous events have had traumatic effects upon the communities affected. If this proposition is convincing, then these events become acknowledged as communal traumas, and those affected as traumatised. This thesis examines how two crises in northern England: the Foot and Mouth Disease (F.M.D.) epidemic in Cumbria in 2001, and the demise of the mining industry in County Durham from the late 1970s onwards, have been constructed as communal traumas. While the F.M.D. epidemic in Cumbria has been explicitly studied, and therefore constructed as traumatic in sociological studies, the crisis was also broadcast through landscape imagery in press and documentary photography. This thesis examines such imagery in the work of photographers Nick May, John Darwell and Ian Geering, and in the printed and television media, and assesses how it has also contributed to the idea of F.M.D. as a communal trauma.

This is one of the original contributions of this thesis. Another is the examination of the disappearance of the mining industry in County Durham since the rationalisation of the late 1970s, as communal trauma. This demise also had devastating economic, social and cultural effects for the communities involved, but has seldom been construed as communally traumatic. However, the film and photography of Newcastle's Amber art collective creates a narrative that suggests precisely this, and fundamental to that narrative is landscape imagery. Their collaboration with the communities experiencing the effects of this demise, and the exhibition of their films and photography back to that community has created a vision of traumatic social change that is both corroborated and constructed by those most affected. With a detailed examination of the imagery of these two specific crises in Northern England, this thesis examines how landscape has contributed to the cultural construction of trauma.

CONTENTS

VOLUME ONE

VOLUME TWO

Acknowledgements

This research was prompted by a conference organised by the arts group Littoral in 2006, which I attended while conducting MA research into socially engaged collaborative arts projects. *The Cultural Documents of the 2001 Foot and Mouth Epidemic* was a highly inter-disciplinary event, involving specialists from across the arts and social sciences, and attempted to come to some concrete conclusions about the crisis of five years earlier. It highlighted the way that the meaning of catastrophic events rarely emerges unbidden; it is frequently assigned through a series of propositions. The event also included the landscape imagery of photographers who had responded to the crisis. However, as well as a response, it was evident that this imagery was as important as the accompanying sociological research in communicating what Foot and Mouth meant. It began a line of enquiry into the role of landscape imagery in forming a notion of trauma.

The subsequent research was greatly aided by Fiona Venables and David Clarke at Tullie House Museum and Art Gallery, Carlisle. My thanks go to them, as well as to Pål Hansen, Nick May and Ian Hunter of Littoral for their willingness to discuss their work. I am also grateful to Dr. Maggie Mort, John Darwell, and Graeme Rigby and Kerry Lowes at Amber for the generous donation of their time, and interest in the project. I would also like to acknowledge the support of the Graduate School at Northumbria University, and colleagues and staff at the University for listening to and commenting upon the ideas discussed in this thesis. Finally my deepest thanks go to my supervisors Dr. Ysanne Holt and Paul Usherwood for their invaluable help, comments and support.

Declaration

I declare that the work contained in this thesis has not been submitted for any other award and that it is all my own work.

Name: Rupert Charles Ashmore

Signature:

Date: 20th July 2010

INTRODUCTION

Landscape and Trauma

This thesis examines two events in recent British history which have deeply affected how the northern English landscape is inhabited, worked in, and ultimately, represented. The first is the Foot and Mouth Disease (F.M.D.) epidemic of 2001, which devastated livestock farming and other rural industries across the country and in Cumbria in particular.[1] The second is the demise of the British coal industry from the late 1960s onwards, but specifically the programme of accelerated colliery closure from the early 1980s instigated by Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government, whose ultimate endgame was the return of the industry to private ownership. This demise is examined in the specific locality of County Durham, an area in which the local economy, settlement patterns, and community structure have long been deeply influenced by the coal industry.

By any definition, these events have been "disasters"; crises that the communities affected could not cope with without outside assistance.[2] Most obviously, they have negatively affected jobs and businesses. Yet their impact has gone beyond the economic, and has also resulted in profound changes in the social and cultural spheres. The events have impacted upon how the residents of Cumbria and Durham live many aspects of their lives, and threatened the accepted relationship between communities and the spaces in which they exist. They have raised doubts that go to the core of identity, and as such have been potentially communally traumatic. This thesis examines how these crises have been represented through landscape imagery in photography and film. In Cumbria it will examine the landscape images produced in the press, and the photographic landscapes of John Darwell, Nick May and Ian Geering. For Durham it will address landscape in the photography and film projects of Newcastle's Amber photography and film collective.

---

[1] Foot and Mouth Disease is a virus affecting cloven hoofed animals, resulting in painful lesions in the mouth and on the extremities. Though extremely virulent, it is not fatal to animals and most recover within a matter of weeks.

[2] This is the definition of disaster outlined by many organizations, including the World Health Organization. See Convery, I, Mort, M, Baxter, J, Bailey, C, *Animal Disease and Human trauma: Emotional Geographies of Disaster* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p.8

Landscape is an essential tool in understanding these events. Both County Durham and Cumbria have historically been alluded to with landscape symbols. The chiaroscuro image of the industrial pithead, or the sweeping vista of the Lake District are culturally embedded, they are a shorthand for, and synonymous with these counties. Landscapes are crucial to the "idea" of these places. We have a host of cultural templates that tell us how these landscapes "normally look". So landscape imagery in particular has been used, by the press, documentary and film, to represent the crises, to draw attention to the differences between normality and abnormality. It has shown the mining village *without* the pithead or the bucolic vista *with* the incongruous pyre of burning animals. Landscape has been used to show the crises to the general public, and the communities themselves. Most fundamentally though, these changes have occurred in the land; they have been crises of landscape.

What will be examined here is not just how photography and film has revealed these changes in the landscape, but how it can indicate *the traumatic effects upon communities stemming from those changes*. Landscape imagery reveals not only how a place appears, but how it has been used and inhabited. It also reveals the values placed upon a particular locality through the way that the image itself is constructed; values that go beyond the purely aesthetic. As William Mitchell has suggested, we cannot separate landscape depictions of a certain place from other considerations, such as how that space is used in everyday life, the influence of ideology or political planning upon that place, and the cultural forces that influence the very way we digest landscape images. As such, Mitchell recognises three differing conceptions of a locality; "place" (the specific place, taking into account the effects that order and planning have had upon it), "space" (the site in terms of the way that it is used through human activities, the "practiced place") and "landscape" (the site imagined or encountered as image). We must be aware though, that this image is not merely a detached representation of place, it also reveals the ideologies that have impacted on that place, those governing the representation of that place, and the ideologies governing representation itself. Mitchell suggests that we take a triangular approach to any locality,

taking into account the aspects of space, place and representation, and how they influence and inflect upon each other.[3]

Yet landscape imagery not only *reflects* but also *informs* how we feel about places. It becomes a form of communication altering our perceptions. Mitchell suggests then, that we should see landscape as a verb rather than a noun; "that we think of landscape, not as an object to be seen or as a text to be read, but as a process by which social and subjective entities are formed".[4] Landscape prompts the viewer to analyse their own position *vis a vis* a locality.

Mitchell's triangular approach is an appropriate way to examine landscape as an indicator of communal trauma in Cumbria and County Durham. The relationship between space and place is a fundamental part of these crises. The changes that occurred were, in large part, a result of official policies of control. The lived space, and the physical landscape, have been changed as result of official bodies' ideas concerning what those localities are, and how they function; the locality as "place". The de-industrialisation of County Durham, for instance, has been a process fundamentally influenced by a centralised government energy policy. Furthermore, as the devastating effects of this policy have been realised, other strategies, connected to tourism or regeneration have been implemented to turn it into a different place. Similarly, in Cumbria, many of the physical and social changes that occurred during F.M.D. were a result of official policies to contain the disease, rather than the disease itself (which, left to its own devices, rarely causes animal fatality).[5] The changes were the result of "biosecurity" lines drawn on maps, or models of predicted infection conjured up within the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food (MAFF), but also ideas about what contemporary agriculture should be at the end of the millennium.

---

[3] Mitchell, W.J.T, "Preface to the Second Edition of Landscape and Power: Space, Place and Landscape", in Mitchell, W.J.T (Ed), *Landscape and Power, 2nd Edition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), p.vii-xii. Mitchell is drawing upon Michel De Certeau's and Henri Lefebvre's ideas of space and place. However, he places less emphasis upon the conflicting nature of "place" as how a site is officially ordered, and "space" as it is practically used than de Certeau. See de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), p.115-130.

[4] Mitchell, W.J.T, "Introduction", in Mitchell, op cit, p.1

[5] However, there are animal welfare and economic considerations; long term health *can* be affected, and in cows milk yields often do not recover to pre-infection levels.

Most crucially, this strategy shifted and changed to take account of the concerns of tourism (which in itself is grounded in an idea of place perpetuated through landscape representations). Significantly, these landscapes are also northern; they are distanced from the centralised source of those policies. The way they are perceived, from both inside and out, cannot be detached from their position within wider discourses of region and nation. This distance has also made the landscape representations of those localities an important part of policy decisions. Strategies have been informed by the *image* of the industrial landscape and what the post-industrial landscape might become. They have been informed by an urge to protect the *idea* of Cumbria's Lake District.

Most importantly, this thesis has been informed by Mitchell's idea that landscape acts "as a verb", informing and shaping the way we have perceived and acted towards these events. We have been told about the crisis of F.M.D. by the image of the idyllic rural vista cut off by a "biosecurity" barrier, or by the pall of smoke from the pyres used to dispose of animal carcasses. Our idea of the destruction of mining communities through unemployment and social deterioration is contrasted with our cultural library of black and white pitheads and sturdy miners returning from unearthing the coal essential to the nation's economy.

Identity is always a mediation between how we view ourselves and how others perceive us, and these embedded images have also been internalised by the communities affected by these crises. Their sense of identity has also been influenced by their experience of the physical space.[6] So it is not only the detached observer who has been informed of these

[6] This questions cotemporary ideas of the relationship between locality, social relations and identity. Ray Pahl suggested that it was purely accessibility to social mobility that determined social relations, geographical locality and settlement patterns had negligible effects. Pahl, R.E, "The Rural-Urban Continuum" in *Sociologia Ruralis, No.6* (1966), p.322. This view has been extended in the theories of Benedict Anderson and Anthony Cohen, who have suggested conceptualising community less as an interactive social system dependent upon locality, and more as a system based upon shared meanings and perceptions of identity. Anderson, B, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), Cohen, A.P. *The Symbolic Construction of Community* (London: Routledge, 1989) Gerard Delanty suggests that contemporary communities are more likely to coalesce around shared leisure or political interests, or internet websites as locality or employment in the same factory. Delanty, G, *Community, 4th Edition* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005), p.2 Yet the communities studied in this thesis are traumatised *precisely* because of physical changes to locality or in employment patterns. So this study concurs with Howard Newby's suggestion that, while social interactions, and thus identity, are influenced by many other considerations, the physical locality in which they take place is still fundamental. Newby, H, *The Deferential Worker: A Study of Farm Workers in East Anglia* (London: Allen Lane, 1977)

crises through landscapes. Those suffering from those changes have also been shown their own misfortune through this imagery. Landscape has been used to sow an idea of communal trauma, to both those affected and a wider audience. This is the central claim of this thesis. Many people may experience a disaster, and be separately and individually traumatised by it. However for this disaster to become acknowledged as a communal trauma, it must be communicated. A consensus must be reached about who has been affected, and how: for trauma to be regarded as such it must be culturally constructed.

Images of landscape can play an important part in that process. They can communicate trauma in three interlinked ways. The first is to show direct evidence of destructive changes in the physical space, which the viewer can assume will have direct effects upon its inhabitants (for example, images of barriers or fires). The second is to work symbolically; to draw upon the embedded perceptions of the Cumbrian and Durham landscape, or to use metaphorical motifs to suggest pain (such as scars in the land). The third way is to suggest a feeling; to work through affect (to suggest claustrophobia or disorientation).[7] Often they communicate through all three: providing evidence to make a claim of trauma; suggesting associations to infer what that evidence means; and suggesting feelings that convey trauma's inexplicable and illogical effects.

The Cultural Construction of Communal Trauma

Trauma is after all, difficult to define, and more so in a time when it has achieved widespread currency in common usage. As Neil Smelser as outlined, since the institutional recognition of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (P.T.S.D.) in the late 1970s, the number of possible scenarios that may trigger a traumatic response, and the range of possible symptoms have grown exponentially. While this has resulted in "an enormous gain in recognition of comprehension and complexity", it has also meant "a loss of formal scientific precision".[8]

[7] After all, as Neil Smelser has pointed out trauma is experienced in feelings and emotions, it is experienced in *affect*. Smelser, N, "Psychological Trauma and Cultural Trauma" in Alexander et al, *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), p.33

[8] Ibid, p.58

What is more, this expanding area of study has predominantly focussed upon the individual experience of trauma. So how do we conceptualise communal trauma? To attempt to map an individual, medically (ill-) defined experience onto a communal, socially defined experience is fraught with potential pitfalls. Nevertheless, Kai Erikson and others have suggested that there are parallels between how an individual responds to a traumatic phenomenon, and how communities react to such phenomena.[9] Just as the psychical organism of the individual can be thrown into conflict by the traumatic phenomenon, the social organism of the community can be tested. Crisis can force the social and cultural bonds that make a community stable to become stretched to the point of rupture.

This may simply mean that many individuals experience the same trauma simultaneously, and that this experience leads them to withdraw from communal interaction en masse. Yet traumatic events also lead to grouping. Communal experience of an event inevitably leads to that event being communicated, and an idea of what the event signifies begins to be constructed. In many ways, this decreases the relevance of that "loss of scientific precision" concerning exactly what trauma is. Though disasters obviously have tragic consequences, it actually matters very little what the real effects or experiences of the event are. For "trauma" to be accepted it really only matters that this group of sufferers is accepted as such, by themselves and others. If those affected accept that they are part of a "traumatised" group then they effectively form that group; it is inter-subjectively real.[10] If this group then communicate their pain to a wider public the idea of communal trauma is further reinforced. While the terrible realities of the crisis will be pointed to as evidence of the trauma, the important thing is that the idea that "these people have been traumatised by these circumstances" is communicated. If it is done so successfully then a communal trauma can be said, to all intents and purposes, to have taken place. It is a process that corresponds to the simple theorem of the sociologist W.I. Thomas; "if men [sic] define

[9] Erikson, K, *Everything in its Path* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1976), Wolfenstein, M, *Disaster: A Psychological Essay* (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1957), Fritz, C, "Disaster", in Merton, R & Nisbel, R (Eds), *Contemporary Social Problems* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1961).
[10] Marx, K, *The Poverty of Philosophy* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1975, cited in Jenkins, R, *Social Identity, 2nd Edition* (London: Routledge, 2004), p.83

situations as real, they are real in their consequences".[11] So, if a situation is convincingly defined as traumatic, people act as though it is traumatic, and the people who experience it are treated as though they are traumatised. Trauma is culturally constructed.

Jeffrey Alexander proposes that, no matter whether the phenomenon is quite clearly catastrophic, and felt by many people, for "communal trauma" to be perceived, this communication act is essential. Otherwise the phenomenon is only perceived as a "disaster". For Alexander the process whereby this message is disseminated can be seen as a "speech act". Certain social agents "make meaning" of a phenomenon and propose a message that trauma has taken place and has affected a certain group. If this message is accepted by an audience, then trauma is acknowledged to have occurred.[12] These agents may be the press, government bodies, writers, poets and artists, websites creators, or documentary photographers and film-makers, and as this thesis highlights, they may use landscape imagery to make their claim.

In adopting Alexander's idea of the cultural construction of trauma, this thesis makes an original contribution to the study of how trauma is represented in visual culture. While the representation of trauma in cultural artefacts has been much discussed, since the early 1990s this discussion has been dominated by "trauma theory".[13] However, the limitations of trauma theory have been increasingly recognised, and there are aspects of its basic assumptions which make it incompatible with the idea that trauma is culturally constructed.[14] Put simply, trauma theory focuses upon whether trauma can be accurately represented, or even communicated at all. For the purposes of this thesis, this question is academic. It does not matter whether the *true* experience of trauma is communicated; just that a convincing message that *trauma has occurred* is communicated. In fact, in the cases

---

[11] Thomas, W.I and Thomas, D.S, *The Child in America: Behaviour Problems and Programs* (New York: Knopf, 1928), p.572

[12] Alexander, J, "Toward a Theory of Cultural Trauma", in Alexander et al, op cit, pp.1-30

[13] Trauma theory has been particularly associated with the studies of Cathy Caruth, Dori Laub and Shoshana Feldman, but the term "trauma theory" has yet to be accepted and formalised to the extent that it is capitalised.

[14] See particularly Leys, R, *Trauma: A Genealogy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), p.229-297, Kaplan, E, *Trauma Culture: The Politics of Terror and Loss in Media and Literature* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2005), p.24-41, and Radstone, S, "Trauma Theory: Contexts, Politics, Ethics", in *Paragraph 30:1* (2007), p.9-19. The limitations are also discussed in the texts of Alexander and Smelser.

of F.M.D. and de-industrialisation it is the flood of sometimes contradictory accounts that may have prevented a coherent message of trauma being formed, rather than people's inability to speak their pain.[15]

So instead, this thesis has turned to the findings and proposals of a research group based at the Center for Advanced Studies in the Behavioural Sciences (C.A.S.B.S.) at Stanford University in the late 1990s. In particular it draws upon theories offered by Jeffrey Alexander, Neil Smelser and Piotr Sztompka.[16] Sztompka's analysis differs from the others in that it focuses specifically upon the features of social change, particularly in post-Communist Europe, and how these may be traumatic, rather than how a notion of trauma is constructed. Nevertheless, his findings are invaluable in examining the effects of de-industrialisation in north east England. These theories have not been extensively examined in discussions of trauma, and as such this thesis represents their first application to specific case studies of film and photographic representation.

Indeed, this is the most appropriate way to examine these crises, because the idea of the cultural construction of trauma contests another common assumption about trauma: that effects stem directly from the event, and the bigger the event (though this may be intensity as much as scale), the more marked the trauma.[17] Yet the scale and intensity of trauma *does not* directly correlate to the nature of the event. Freud recognised that trauma cannot be

---

[15] In fact, according to John Law and Vicky Singleton, F.M.D. may have suffered from *too much communication*. Law, J & Singleton, V, "Disaster: A Further Species of Trouble? Disaster and Narrative", in Döring, M & Nerlich, B, *The Social and Cultural Impact of Foot-and Mouth Disease in the UK in 2001: Experiences and Analyses* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 2009), p.236

[16] Alexander, op cit, and Smelser, op cit. Sztompka, P, "The Trauma of Social Change: A Case of Postcommunist Societies", in Alexander et al, op cit, p.155-195. Neil Smelser was director of the C.A.S.B.S. from 1994 to 2001. The idea of the cultural construction of trauma is indebted to his idea of "value added theory" or "strain theory" which outlines a six-point structure of how new social movements emerge; see Smelser, N, *Theory of Collective Behaviour* (Glencoe, Ill: Free Press, 1963). It is this "value added" system that directly influences Sztompka's theory of traumatic social change. See, Sztompka, op cit, p.168. Sztompka himself is Professor of Sociology at the Jagiellonian University in Kraków, his many publications include, *The Sociology of Social Change* (Oxford; Blackwell, 1993). Alexander is Professor of Sociology and Co-Director of the Center for Cultural Sociology at Yale University. The C.A.S.B.S. research coincided with his publication of *The Meanings of Social Life: A Cultural Sociology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003). The research group also included Ron Eyerman, Bernhard Giesen and Bjorn Wittrock.

[17] This is prevalent in popular perception, but also implicit in trauma theory. See Alexander, op cit, p.1-10

equated to a singular cause; its existence lies in its effects: trauma is a response.[18] So, trauma is *not due to the nature of the particular event itself*, but how it is (or rather fails to be) dealt with. It is about the event *in context*. Some catastrophic events, such as defeat in war or natural disaster do not engender trauma, but increase fortitude and resolve; relatively minor events, which do not directly threaten life or cause destruction, such as the death of a leader, may be quickly accepted as communally traumatic.

Understanding context is essential when examining the events in Cumbria and Durham. The crises have resulted in significant negative economic, social and cultural fall-out, widespread human stress, and even loss of life.[19] Yet notwithstanding these terrible consequences, F.M.D. remains a disease which affects animals, not humans, and the implications of de-industrialisation are predominantly economic and social. Put bluntly, they did not result in large-scale human loss of life or displacement; they do not seem as self-evidently traumatic as, say, the genocide in Rwanda or 9/11. It is also difficult to see the demise of mining in County Durham as a singular event; the industry has actually been in consistent decline since the mid-1920s. This is not to diminish the suffering experienced in either Cumbria or Durham, merely to emphasise that these episodes had traumatic effects because of context, rather than something that can be objectively quantified in the event. So rather than talk of "traumatic events" it may be more accurate to talk of phenomena that have the potential to engender trauma *because of their context*; that are "traumatogenic".[20] Freud also acknowledged that similar events need not result in similar responses; individuals may be more or less susceptible to trauma, depending upon their personal strengths and experience.[21] Communal trauma may encompass multiple effects, and to various degrees. So even massively destructive events that result in extensive loss of life,

---

[18] Freud,S & Breuer, J, "Studies in Hysteria, in Strachey, J (Ed), *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, Vol.2* (London: Hogarth Press, 1955) [originally 1893-5], p.5-6, cited in Smelser, op cit, p.33

[19] Indeed, the suicide of three farmers in Powys was directly linked to the stress engendered by F.M.D. Lomax, S, "Farming Suicides Blamed on Crisis", in *The Guardian*, online version, 15/06/2001, at http://www.guardian.co.uk/society/2001/jun/15/socialcare.mentalhealth, accessed 29/10/2009. Two picketing miners also died in the aggressive conflicts during the Miners' Strike of 1984-5, and the stress of financial hardship and long-term unemployment may well have contributed to other individual tragedies.

[20] Sztompka, op cit, p.158

[21] Cited in Kaplan, op cit, p.1

can never be assumed to result in communal trauma, or how that trauma will manifest itself. However, what *is* possible is to demonstrate how trauma is communicated.

The cultural construction of trauma suggests that trauma is a socially constructed phenomenon. This is not to deny human suffering, but to accept that trauma is always defined by whatever society, acting through medical experts, pathologises as a healthy or unhealthy response to the difficulties of life, at any given time. Derek Summerfield has noted the way in which P.T.S.D. was developed as a socio-political construct to enable the re-integration of veterans displaying anti-social tendencies after the Vietnam War.[22] Subsequently, trauma was embraced by cultural studies (infused with the theories of psychoanalysis), and has now become a self-perpetuating industry. A situation can be proved to be traumatic simply by shifting the parameters of trauma, especially now that, as Mark Jarzombek has pointed out, trauma has been embraced by a litigious blame culture. Proposal and proof exist in a spiral of self-substantiation: successful cases set precedents. Trauma as a sphere of medical enquiry has now become completely digested by trauma as a cultural phenomenon.[23] Trauma then, epitomises how socio-medical phenomena are defined by the frameworks, and expectations we have to hand. The "exponential" expansion of situations and symptoms that are now pathologised as trauma is due to cultural demand, rather than an increasing inability to cope with modern life.

Nonetheless, despite the inherent risks, an attempt should be made to outline some definition of communal trauma, and how the crises in Cumbria and Durham may have been traumatogenic. According to the American Psychiatric Association in 1980, the criteria for determining that a patient was suffering from P.T.S.D. were the presence of: a) a traumatic event; b) re-experience of the event; c) numbing phenomena; and d) miscellaneous symptoms.[24] While this vague medical definition was based in the study of individuals,

---

[22] Summerfield, D, "The invention of post-traumatic stress disorder and the social usefulness of a psychiatric category", in the *British Medical Journal, No.322* (13/01/2001), p.95

[23] Jarzombek, M, "The Post-traumatic Turn and the Art of Walid Ra'ad and Krzysztof Wodiczko: From Theory to Trope and Beyond", in Saltzman, L and Rosenberg, E (Eds), *Trauma and Visuality in Modernity* (Hanover, New Hampshire: Dartmouth College Press, 2006), p.249-271

[24] *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, Third Edition* (American Psychiatric Association, 1980), p.236-8, cited in Leys, op cit, p.232

Neil Smelser has drawn upon it, and other notions of trauma to compose a definition of communal cultural trauma:

> "*a memory accepted and publicly given credence by a relevant membership group and evoking an event or situation which is a) laden with negative affect, b) represented as indelible, and c) regarded as threatening a society's existence or violating one or more of its fundamental cultural pre-suppositions*".[25]

We could put this another way: if we, as individuals and groups, rely upon a coherent narrative to bring stability to our identity, the traumatic phenomenon renders a negative blow to that narrative, a blow that subsequently and consistently refuses to be assimilated into that narrative. This is precisely how the events in northern England have been constructed as communally traumatic.

Animal Disease as Human Trauma

While the pre-existing difficulties faced by farming no doubt made Cumbrian communities less resistant to its effects, the 2001 Foot and Mouth Disease epidemic is easy to frame as an event: a fundamental change in circumstances with a beginning and end.[26] The outbreak lasted from February to September, during which time the disease spread throughout much of Britain. Government attempts to contain the outbreak led to restrictions upon all animal movement within the country, a ban on livestock and meat exports, and the strict isolation of infected herds by the enforcement of a "biosecurity" cordon. Within this cordon, all animals were slaughtered in a contiguous cull, whether infected or not, and destroyed through burial or burning, often on farm premises.[27] Even by conservative estimates, during

---

[25] Smelser, op cit, p.44

[26] We could actually frame F.M.D. as one in a long process of *many* events that have contributed to the steady erosion of farming life since the contraction of farming began in the late nineteenth century; most recently the Bovine Spongiform Encephalopathy (B.S.E.) crisis of the late 1980s. Yet F.M.D. was *constructed* as an event; it served to engender an idea of before and after, normality and disruption.

[27] The contiguous cull policy follows a formula essentially unchanged since the 1865-67 epidemic of Rinderpest or "cattle plague". Woods, A, "The Historical Roots of F.M.D. Control in Britain, 1839-2001", in Döring and Nerlich op cit, p.22. Woods goes on to point out that far from a rare occurrence, British livestock farming has been peppered with outbreaks from its first discovery in 1839, to the point that until the mid twentieth Century it was regarded more as endemic than as an epidemic. Her general point is that in the post-war period F.M.D. has increasingly been framed as a "plague", locking government response into a policy of eradication, rather than vaccination (p.21-31).

the outbreak over 5.5 million animals had been slaughtered in the UK.[28] Cumbria was hit particularly hard, bearing 893 cases of infection (44% of all cases nationwide), which resulted in the loss of around 1,350,000 animals, and by the end of the crisis there were large areas of the county totally devoid of any livestock whatsoever.[29]

This control policy had clear implications for farmers in terms of financial loss, stress, and the emotional impact of seeing their livestock destroyed. Yet arrangements between the National Farmers Union and the government had ensured that a system of compensation was in place. However the biosecurity policy also entailed the cancellation of all events involving live animals, the suspension of major rural events, and the temporary closure of rural footpaths and visitor attractions for much of the spring and summer of 2001. Thus other rural businesses, particularly in the tourist industry, which did not have such safeguards in place, also suffered extreme and often terminal financial hardship. F.M.D. devastated the whole rural economy, and for many months became the discourse through which whole communities framed every aspect of their lives.

However, the trauma of F.M.D. cannot be simply put down to stress and financial hardship. As a team from Lancaster University (consisting of Maggie Mort, Ian Convery, Cathy Bailey and Josephine Baxter) outlined, Foot and Mouth, *and* the methods used to control it, engendered a negative alteration of "lifescape": the real, perceived and culturally and socially embedded ways in which communities "live" the place that they inhabit.[30] So the increased stress of dealing with the disease was intensified by the dissocialising effects of quarantine measures which isolated some communities for weeks on end, and suspended or disrupted normal patterns of social interaction, education or leisure. The cultural events that reinforce community were suspended, and a constant fear of infection and perception of un-cleanliness was projected onto both people and landscape. Most significantly, for many

[28] DEFRA, *Tackling the Impact of Foot and Mouth Disease on the Rural Economy: Report of the Rural Task Force* (Department of Environment, Food and Rural Affairs, 09/10/2001), p.13, at http://defra.gov.uk/footandmouth/rural/taskforce/rtf.PDF, accessed on 28/07/2009
[29] National Audit Office, *The 2001 Outbreak of Foot and Mouth Disease* (London: Stationary Office, 2002), cited in Mort, M, Convery, I & Bailey, C, "Psychological Effects of the 2001 UK Foot and Mouth Disease Epidemic in a Rural Population: Qualitative Diary Based Study", in *British Medical Journal*, *Vol.331*, (2005), p.1235 available at http://www.bmj.com/cgi/content/full/331/7527/1234, accessed on 02/05/2007
[30] Ibid, p.1234-1237

months communities were continually surrounded by the sights and smells of death and abjection: slaughter, decomposing animal carcasses and the smoke and ash from pyres.[31] The team concluded that the experience of F.M.D. had radically increased individual and communal distress in Cumbrian communities to traumatogenic levels, and left lasting changes in outlook. The cultural and social markers by which communities reinforce identity were left with a palpable wound, and the perception of the lived space irrevocably changed: stained by "death in the wrong place".[32]

The team were effectively engaged in the cultural construction of trauma, but this construction began long before their studies. Intense press coverage meant that F.M.D. had been constructed as a catastrophic event from the beginning. The iconic image of this process of construction was the picture of the animal pyre in the landscape. So the traumatic impact of Foot and Mouth was communicated through landscape. Yet while the *words* used to communicate the crisis (poetry, press editorial, diary accounts, etc.) have been studied, this landscape imagery has not. This is the second contribution of this thesis: to highlight the importance of landscape, both in the press and produced by photographic artists, in communicating the traumatic experience of Foot and Mouth.

The Trauma of Social Change

We may locate a similar combination of economic, social and cultural changes in the de-industrialisation of County Durham. For many it has resulted in fundamental upheavals in every aspect of the way they live their lives. Yet the demise of mining does not constitute a sudden "event" as such; mining has been in consistent decline since the end of the First World War, a result of natural resource exhaustion, competition, and changing political and economic emphasis. As a result, for many mining communities over this long decline, change has *not* been traumatic. Yet for some it has, and Piotr Sztompka's theory of the trauma of social change may illustrate why.

---

[31] These social effects could by extended to sets of cultural connotations. Farmers witnessed the destruction of heritage, either in terms of animal bloodlines that had been built up over generations or farm buildings considered as harbours for the virus, and for all rural dwellers and users the connotations of health and purity implicit in the countryside were irrevocably undermined.

[32] See Convery, I, Bailey, C, Mort, M, & Baxter, J, "Death in the Wrong Place? Emotional Geographies of the UK 2001 Foot and Mouth Disease Epidemic", in *The Journal of Rural Studies, No.21* (2005), p.99-109

Sztompka suggests that the fall of the Iron Curtain, and an accelerated embrace of neo-liberal attitudes in formerly Communist societies, resulted in a combination of rapid political, economic and social change, which was deeply traumatic for some. These communities were literally left socially, culturally and economically stranded and disorientated; the cultural frameworks they relied upon to stabilise their identity simply did not make any sense in the new economy. This thesis suggests that some mining communities in East Durham were similarly stranded and disorientated by the economic changes of de-industrialisation in the 1980s and 1990s. While mining has suffered a comparatively lingering demise, the rapidly accelerated closure of Britain's collieries under a Conservative government in the 1980s represented a *new phase* in that demise.[33] What is more, that new phase was marked by the year long Miners' Strike of 1984-5, which brought into vivid contrast the values of an old and new political economy. While the full economic and social impact of colliery closure did not hit East Durham for some time after this event, this thesis proposes that the strike effected what Sztompka terms "cultural disorganisation": a disorientating threat to status and values which weakens communities' resistance to subsequent changes.[34]

Sztompka's proposal is not applied without reservations. However the significant influence of the pit upon all aspects of economic, social and cultural spheres in isolated mining villages does make it an appropriate template through which to view the massive impact upon every aspect of communal life brought about by the demise of the mining industry. The application of this theory is another contribution of this thesis, but in fact, the proposition that the demise of mining constitutes traumatic change is novel in itself. While

[33] We could suggest that the period from the mid-1980s does not represent a significantly new period, but merely the final stage in a long process of class oppression; the final act of many to erode any socialist alternative to capitalism. This may well be the case, but the point is that it is seen, and represented as a *defined stage*. Before this stage, the industry had been nationalized for one working generation, and because of contraction in the 1960s, had the youngest workforce of that period. Those that might make those links between the contraction of the 1980s and earlier class-based disputes (1926 for example) were not there to make those connections. For most contraction under Thatcherism was a fundamentally altered state of affairs.
[34] Sztompka, op cit, p.164

the events of the 1980s are often alluded to as "traumatic", there has seldom been an investigation into why, or what that trauma may constitute.[35]

Sztompka's framework can be applied because over the last 30 years the Amber collective have provided a richly detailed narrative of East Durham that closely corresponds to his proposals. They have been involved in the cultural construction of trauma: the trauma of social change. This is not to say that they have set out to construct a message of "trauma". They have merely attempted to record the changes going on in communities. Yet they have always seen these changes *as a process*. They have always kept one eye on the past, and one eye firmly on the future. Whatever has been recorded has always been framed as social change, rather than an isolated incident. So it is Amber, the social agents in the field who have provided the lens through which we might re-view other studies of former mining communities.

Method

Theses two case studies show how two different types of phenomena can be culturally constructed as trauma, using landscape imagery. The first section of this thesis addresses F.M.D. in Cumbria, illustrating how an unforeseen *event* is communicated as traumatic; how cultural actors *react* to a crisis. The second assesses Amber's picture of change in Durham, and shows how a longer period of crisis can be constructed and even *predicted* as traumatic.

Chapter One amalgamates the proposals of the C.A.S.B.S. group into a theoretical framework describing the cultural construction of trauma, and how landscape imagery acts as a vehicle for that process. It critically examines some of the features of that process, and places this theory in the wider context of trauma studies. After this, the thesis is divided into two sections, focussing initially upon Cumbria, and then County Durham. They each begin by investigating the historical representation of these counties' landscapes. This

[35] The closest correspondence to the notion of trauma comes from a research group at Northumbria University, who examine the experience of Durham communities in terms of mourning and "emotional degeneration". See in particular Stephenson, C & Wray, D, "Emotional Regeneration Through Community Action in Post-Industrial Mining Communities: The New Herrington Miners' Banner Partnership", in *Capital & Class, No.87* (2004), p.175-199

provides the research "control": the accepted perceptions of those spaces to which the images of trauma provide a contrast. They then address the traumatic changes experienced and how a notion of trauma has been constructed through landscape imagery. They conclude by examining how this imagery has been broadcast, and whether the message of trauma it attempts to convey has been corroborated or undermined by other imagery of Cumbria and the North East.

In many ways the F.M.D. epidemic undermined a generally held perception of Cumbria as an idealised rural space. Chapter Two investigates this perception, and how it has become so dominant in national and local ideas of Cumbria. This is mostly due to the glut of idyllic imagery of the Lake District, but also because of the comparative lack of rural documentary and sociological studies (compared to the study of the urban) in British culture.[36] This chapter also reveals that this accepted idea of the idealised Cumbrian rural space is some distance from the reality. Chapters Three and Four focus upon the imagery of the F.M.D. epidemic and how that reflects and distorts such traditional views. Chapter Three examines how, *and if*, the crisis was constructed as a traumatic event in the landscape imagery provided by the national and local press. Chapter Four offers a thorough visual analysis of the landscape imagery of three documentary photographers: Darwell, Geering and May.[37] It will suggest how this imagery conveys trauma, and how that vision is corroborated by other accounts of the outbreak. Chapter Five looks at the exhibition of these images; how they reflect an increasing appreciation, driven by a body of academic and Government literature, that the Cumbrian experience of F.M.D. was indeed communally traumatic, and the role of these photographs in that process of realisation. It concludes by investigating whether F.M.D. has fundamentally altered the national perception of the Cumbrian countryside, or

[36] We could follow a path of rural documentary from Peter Henry Emerson through James Ravillious and Edwin Smith to Fay Godwin and John Davies, but there are few other well known bodies of work. Following this, documentary itself begins to directly question the rural idyll through issues such as environmentalism and the ethnic and gendered access to the countryside. By contrast, the industrial and urban space has been represented by a wealth of documentary photography, and it is the embedded ideas provided by this tradition that will be examined in the case of County Durham. As Sam Hillyard has noted sociology similarly focuses on the urban, and there has been a small body of rural study. Hillyard, S, *The Sociology of Rural Life* (Oxford: Berg, 2007), p.6-38

[37] It will also briefly address the work of the ceramicist Paul Scott, whose work utilizes photographic prints of Cumbrian landscapes, and were influential in the dissemination of trauma.

conversely, if there has been something of a cultural repression of the event and re-embedding of the traditional image of the county.

Appropriately, the structure of the second half of this thesis follows the actions of the cultural agents themselves. Amber had an intensive period of activity in the Durham coalfield immediately before, during and after the Miner's Strike. After this they moved their focus elsewhere for nearly a decade. They returned after the last of Durham's collieries had closed , to record the devastating fallout of the death of an industry. So, Chapter Six establishes why Sztompka's study is appropriate to the collapse of mining in County Durham. It then establishes Amber's place in the representation of the county, and how their photography was used to auger the catastrophic changes about to overtake its mining communities, often by drawing upon a long tradition of North East documentary images that nostalgically focus upon decline, marginalisation and a moribund working class. Chapter Seven looks at the imagery of the Miners' Strike. It assesses how the anti-strike actions of Government and press engendered a sense of cultural disorganisation within mining culture, but also how imagery was used as an oppositional tool to nurture support the strike, and to act as a site of community coalescence. Chapter Eight addresses the period after the closure of collieries in East Durham, and examines how Amber film and photography from the mid 1990s suggests a post-industrial landscape and a traumatised community. It draws upon relevant sociological analysis of the social and economic deterioration of Durham mining villages to investigate Amber's vision. Chapter Nine evaluates the dissemination of this imagery; how it stands alongside other representations of the county, region and post-industrial north. It highlights other ways that Durham communities have negotiated their post-industrial cultural identity, and assesses how they and Amber have reacted to redevelopment initiatives and the heritage and leisure industry's interest in the landscape and its communities. The thesis ends by drawing together the points raised to claim that the landscape imagery of de-industrialisation and F.M.D. is an effective vehicle for promoting an idea of trauma. It also proposes that landscape in photography and film can be used as a sociological resource, not merely as an illustration for sociological study, but as an effective method of communication in its own right.

This concluding chapter raises a question of methodology: we can suggest that images may transmit a message of trauma, but can we *prove* that that they have? After lengthy consideration, it has been decided that this thesis cannot provide such proof. The main reason for this is that any response to imagery is subjective and dependent upon a huge range of contingent factors. One of these is time. At the time of writing, this thesis comes twenty five years after the events of the Miners' Strike, over fifteen since the closure of the last Durham colliery, and nine since F.M.D in Cumbria. The imagery of these events undoubtedly made a deep impression upon viewers at those times. It may still. However, it is impossible to recreate the initial impact of those images once they have imprinted on the viewer. If a phenomenon is now generally accepted as communally traumatic, we cannot return to a time when we did not accept it as such; the initial effect of imagery is polluted by subsequent frames of reference.[38] In fact, often viewers cannot accurately articulate their responses to images; sometimes those responses only coalesce into a tangible meaning over time. Susan Sontag may have suggested that she could divide her life into a "before" and "after" viewing the photographs of Nazi atrocities at Belsen and Dachau. Yet she also concedes, "though it was several years until I understood fully what they were about".[39] So while Sontag locates that those images had meaning, she cannot accurately say what that meaning was. Is the power of epiphany in the photograph itself, or to do with the social and cultural position of Sontag at the time? Of course, images of pain do have meaning. The reason some attain iconic status is because they continue to overflow with meaning that is relevant to viewers. However, even if photographs of pain do reach this iconic status that does not mean that they are transmitting a singular, comprehensible meaning. As Robert Hariman and John Lucaites point out, images become iconic because they widen the range of possible interpretations, not because they narrow it.[40]

---

[38] This is particularly vivid in the re-contextualisation of the Miners' Strike by television companies. While they were uniformly aggressive to the miners in 1984-5, they now reflect a sympathetic and nostalgic view of the struggle. The impression we get of original footage if viewing on the companies' websites now is far from that given at the time. In fact, it is more often the cultural trend to re-contextualise past events as traumatic, rather than to suggest that previously acknowledged traumas were not so.

[39] Sontag, S, *On Photography, 3rd Edition* (London: Penguin, 1979), p.19-20

[40] Hariman, R & Lucaites, J.L, *No Caption Needed: Iconic Photographs, Public Culture, and Liberal Democracy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), p.1-24. Iconic photographs can therefore be seen in terms of Anthony Cohen's "symbolic masks"; they are culturally and socially powerful not because they have the same meaning for all people in a group (which may be an entire nation), but because all people make some meaning from the same iconic images. Cohen, op cit.

A survey of viewers' responses to the imagery of F.M.D. and de-industrialisation would have to take these considerations into account (and many more) to be of any use. This thesis does make use of *existing* written responses to this imagery, such as contemporary reviews, and gallery visitor books. In these cases it has been acknowledged that the impact of imagery is dependent upon the conditions of its reception; photographs in newspapers engender a different response (and expectations) to those exhibited in galleries, monographs, and on the internet.[41] Overall though, this thesis has not attempted to prove that the message of trauma has been received, but to examine how it may have been produced and broadcast; it remains production-led, rather than reception-led.

These considerations do not merely impact upon what this thesis sets out to examine, they are woven into its theoretical approach. We must accept that photography and film cannot represent the true nature of traumatic experience. The theory that underpins this thesis, that trauma is culturally constructed, takes this inability as a given. However, this does not mean that *messages* of trauma cannot be communicated, and accepted. It is to the process by which this occurs that the next chapter turns.

[41] Walker Evans made a point of this distinction when he exhibited his *American Photographs* at New York's Museum of Modern Art in 1938. The accompanying photo-book includes many photographs not in the exhibition, and vice versa. Evans' acknowledgement of the specifics of the two methods of display prompted an obsessive level of control over the details of both. See Dyer, G, *The Ongoing Moment, 3rd Edition* (London: Abacus, 2007), p.36-8

CHAPTER ONE

Communal Trauma in Northern England: A Theoretical Framework

This chapter establishes the theoretical framework through which to examine the Foot and Mouth Disease epidemic in Cumbria, and the demise of mining in County Durham as communally traumatic phenomena. It combines the theories of communal trauma suggested by Jeffrey Alexander, Neil Smelser and Piotr Sztompka into one structure charting a process whereby communities become acknowledged as being "traumatised". This qualification is shown as being constructed by social actors, rather than naturally occurring in response to events which give rise to suffering. Social actors broadcast a message that trauma has taken place, and, if this is accepted, then the community is adjudged to be traumatised. This is not to underestimate the real tragic effects of devastating events, and indeed, it is to these effects that actors point to make their claim. However, the following framework shows how adverse conditions, which affect individuals and groups on a physical or social level, become a condition that is classified at the cultural level. Therefore, trauma as a condition is not defined by what has happened, but *culturally defined*, through acts of communication.

It is this complexity which makes the "cultural construction of trauma" an appropriate process through which to view those changes, rather than the "trauma theory" that has emerged through the work of Dori Laub, Shoshana Feldman, and particularly Cathy Caruth.[1] However, trauma theory provides one of the most influential discourses of trauma in the humanities today, and the fact that this thesis moves away from its assumptions should be the first topic that that this chapter addresses.

[1] See particularly Caruth, C, *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative and History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996) and Caruth, C (Ed), *Trauma: Explorations in Memory* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995). Caruth is Associate Professor of Comparative Literature at Emory University. Along with Laub and Feldman she has written extensively on the Holocaust as traumatic experience, and all have been heavily influenced by the work of Paul de Man, part of the "Yale school of deconstruction" (Caruth as a student of de Man). Trauma theory has however, been influenced by a range of researchers in the field of communal memory studies, and particularly Holocaust Studies.

Trauma Theory

For Cathy Caruth, the traumatic event is such an unexpected shock to the system that it literally bypasses experience. The event exists in the psyche as a "non-event", in a condition of *latency*, perhaps returning in flashbacks, dreams etc, but not as processed memories. It returns as a reliving of the event, as if for the first time. Instead of experience, there exists a "hole" in experience. It is this very inaccessibility that keeps the experience preserved and prevents recovery.[2] As Caruth suggests, trauma is characterised by "its very unassimilated nature – the way it is precisely *not known* in the first instance – returns to haunt the survivor later on."[3] Caruth's theory draws upon the psychiatric research carried out by Bessell van der Kolk and Onno van der Hart into P.T.S.D. in the mid 1980s. This research suggested that the overwhelming nature of the traumatic event serves to shut down the normal memory processing part of the brain, the cerebral cortex, in which the brain makes meaning. Instead the experience is only registered in the amygdala, a purely sensation-recording part of the brain. Hence, when the memory re-emerges it is in the form of a "flashback", a literal re-experiencing, with no processed meaning.[4]

Recovery may be achieved through therapy. However, this does not simply entail the decoding of traumatic symptoms, but rather the creation of a system of *referentiality*, whereby the traumatic event, which is literally unspeakable, can be accessed through a narrative of reference, rather than experience. This means that any account of the experience is effectively changing it into a representation, altering it from the actual experience. In some ways, this does not matter for the cultural construction of trauma; it does not matter whether a testimony is true, just that it is convincing. However, Caruth emphasises the *inability* for sufferers to speak their pain. This would mean that individuals in an affected group could not communicate trauma; trauma would have to be entirely constructed from the outside. In the crises in Cumbria and Durham, this certainly has happened (this thesis examines the work of outside observers), but they are also marked by

[2] Caruth, C, "Introduction", in Caruth (1995), ibid, p.8

[3] Caruth (1996), op cit, p.3. For Caruth, the inability to represent trauma and the traumatic experience are interlinked beyond a simple causal relationship. Informed by Lacan and the "linguistic turn" she sees the possession of language as fundamental to identity. It is because traumatic experience evades the ability to be spoken that the sufferer's identity remains in a state of flux, and traumatic experience cannot be resolved.

[4] Kaplan, E, A, *Trauma Culture: The Politics of Terror and Loss in Media and Literature* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2005), p.34-37

a flood of testimonies from within the affected groups. They are notable for an abundance of communication.

There are also some intrinsic problems with trauma theory, both in its scientific reasoning and in its theoretical logic.[5] It is based in Freud's analysis of trauma, but as Ruth Leys has pointed out Caruth's reading of Freud is rather selective, assuming that trauma is always met with latency. In this, it ignores his idea of repression. Though both latency and repression involve the suppression of traumatic experiences which then re-emerge at a later time through various symptoms, the latter suggests that traumatic experience does register in memory, but the unconscious stores the experience in order to protect the conscious, allowing it to leak out in various symbolic manifestations. As Leys points out, Freud actually suggested that trauma could lead to repression in some cases, latency in others, and it was essentially impossible to predict which might occur.[6] In fact, E. Ann Kaplan has proposed that there is no reason to accept that the traumatic event bypasses the cortex, and thus evades recall.[7] Drawing upon the research of Joseph LeDoux she suggests that although this mental "short circuit" may well occur in the face of the traumatic event, it does not necessarily mean that the normal processes of memory do not occur as well. So "disassociated" memories (prone to latency) may well exist alongside perfectly vivid, and processed memories of events. As Kaplan also highlights, we cannot disregard the unconscious. This part of the psyche also experiences the traumatic event, and processes it according to any pre-existing unconscious desires of the subject.[8]

In fact, Susannah Radstone suggests that the disregard of the role of the unconscious presents a theoretical contradiction at the heart of trauma theory. Freudian (and

---

[5] In some ways the problems of trauma theory may stem from its genesis. Growing from the cultural study of the Holocaust, its ideas are grounded in the most extreme event possible. Survivors of the Holocaust experienced a constant struggle in which existence itself, physical and cultural, was threatened. A set of assumptions formulated from the study of this extreme event do not, perhaps, map appropriately onto other experiences which are undoubtedly traumatic, but in which victims may, superficially at least, carry out normal life (for example child abuse). See ibid, p.32-3.

[6] Leys, R, *Trauma: A Genealogy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), p.300

[7] Leys is also critical of the scientific basis of Caruth's theory. She suggests that Van der Kolk may have found certain ways to discount those parts of his studies which proved anomalous to his notion of latency. See ibid, p.231-265

[8] Kaplan, op cit, p.37-8

subsequently Lacanian) psychoanalysis is built upon the acknowledgment of the unconscious, and yet trauma theory deprives it of any role in traumatic experience. Radstone then, suggests that trauma theory exhibits a paradoxical reliance upon, and refusal of Freudian and Lacanian psychoanalysis.[9] The disregard of the unconscious also leads to the assumption that the trauma victim is a fully sovereign identity, beleaguered by an external terrible event, and who then dissociates themselves from this experience. In simple terms, Radstone suggests that this has embedded the idea of trauma as a Manichean opposition of "good" victim and "bad" traumatic experience.[10] This means that while trauma theory seems to focus upon *effects* of trauma, rather than the event *causing* trauma (and Caruth is quick to emphasise this), it is actually reliant upon an assumption that trauma stems from the nature of the event.[11]

In this, it corresponds with the commonly accepted notion of trauma, which dictates that trauma is an essentially rational response to a devastating event; the bigger, or more unexpected the event, the bigger, and more widespread the traumatic effects.[12] This would suggest that there is something inherently traumatic about certain events, and the idea of the cultural construction of trauma fundamentally opposes this view. Given the nature of the crises in Cumbria and Durham, it would appear that this latter view is more appropriate. These events have been traumatic not because they have been catastrophic to human life, but because of other contextual factors. In fact, to support Jeffrey Alexander's idea that trauma is culturally constructed, we might return to Freud. He recognised that trauma (or at that time, hysteria) is less to do with the initial injury, than the effects of the internalisation of that injury.[13] It is an assumption re-iterated in the work of psychiatrist Patrick Bracken, who has recently suggested, that the examination of trauma should no longer be based upon the causal assumption of "singular cause leads to medical effect". The appearance of

---

[9] Radstone, S, "Trauma Theory: Contexts, Politics, Ethics", in *Paragraph, Vol.30, No.1* (2007), p.12-18
[10] Ibid, p.25-6
[11] Caruth (1996), op cit, p.3
[12] This is precisely how Arthur Neal has articulated trauma. Neil, A, *National Trauma and Collective Memory: Major Events in the American Century* (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe,1998), p.9-10, cited in Alexander, J, "Towards a Theory of Cultural Trauma", in Alexander, J et al (Eds), *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), p.3
[13] Freud,S & Breuer, J, "Studies in Hysteria, in Strachey, J (Ed), *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, Vol.2* (London: Hogarth Press, 1955) [originally 1893-5], p.5-6, cited in Smelser, N, "Psychological Trauma and Cultural Trauma" in Alexander et al, ibid, p.33

trauma cannot be detached from the complex social and cultural spheres within which it emerges, and is experienced.[14] Bracken is effectively reiterating the conclusions of the C.A.S.B.S. group: at least to some extent, trauma is influenced by culture, rather than being totally dependent upon the nature of the event. So, given the fact that the crises in Cumbria and Durham have been marked by an abundance of communication, rather than a lack of it, and because of the nature of those events, this thesis does not pursue Caruth's trauma theory, but agrees that trauma is culturally constructed.

The Cultural Construction of Trauma: An Overview

Collectives are made up of social interactions, which are articulated through culture. It is in culture (rituals, traditions, art, literature, etc.) that the meaning of that pattern of interactions is maintained. This pattern of interactions, represented in culture, creates a cohesive narrative of communal identity, and provides predictability and security. Communal trauma occurs if this narrative is disrupted by a phenomenon. It is the alteration of this pattern of meaning which gives rise to shock and fear, not the event itself. Events are seen as traumatic, not because of their actual harmfulness, but because they are *believed* to have harmfully affected collective identity. Put simply, the cultural narrative that suggests "we are x", is undermined; due to a certain phenomenon, "we can no longer be sure that we are x". Trauma is not the result of a group experiencing pain; it is the result of this discomfort entering the core of the collective's sense of identity. So trauma is engendered by a sociological and cultural process. For trauma to emerge at the level of the collective, social crises must become cultural crises.[15]

However, for discomfort to reach the realm of culture, it must be "spoken" or represented. It is spread through a social process, and there are social agents driving that process. Alexander terms these agents "carrier groups"; groups who have a particular power in the social network to create and broadcast cultural signals.[16] They may be cultural elites, such

[14] Bracken, P & Thomas, P, "Postpsychiatry: A New Direction for Mental Health", in *British Medical Journal* (March 2001), reproduced through the Academy for the Study of the Psychoanalytic Arts, at http://www.academyanalyticarts.org/bracken&thomas, p.1-4

[15] Alexander, op cit, p.10

[16] Ibid, p.11. In using the phrase "carrier groups" Alexander is drawing upon the terminology of Max Weber. Weber, M, *Economy and Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968) [Originally 1914]

as government departments, or marginalised minorities, and this will obviously impact upon their ability to broadcast effective "signals". However, if it is their interest to do so, these carrier groups will attempt to broadcast a claim that the collective has been traumatised. In order to be effective, this claim must include four composite points (four questions to which the message or representation must provide compelling answers):

a) The nature of the pain; what actually happened?
b) The nature of the victim; to whom did the phenomenon happen?
c) The relation of the victim to the wider audience; do the two groups share aspects of identity or common concerns?
d) Responsibility; who or what caused the traumatic phenomenon?

These elements do not necessarily have to follow a sequential, causal order, and any one may become the most important question during the process of broadcast, but each one will add value, making the claim more convincing.[17]

This claim mirrors a simple speech act, with a speaker and an audience, and importantly a situation, or environment, in which this act occurs. If this environment is conducive, and the claim is coherently transmitted and accepted by those affected by the trauma (and ideally, but certainly not necessarily by the wider audience), then a new narrative of collective identity will permeate the social structure of the group: that of "being traumatised".[18] This is Alexander's cultural construction of trauma, and it can be illustrated as a simple process, as in Table 1 below. However, The creation of this new narrative is influenced by a host of factors. The process may be stalled or accelerated by any number of contingencies, for instance:

a) The status of the carrier group; do they have the social capital to be heard?
b) The arena in which the message being broadcast. For instance, is it through the institutions of law (focussing upon responsibility or blame), or religion (ideas of good and evil)? This can inflect the message with moral or legal questions which may limit its effectiveness.

[17] Alexander, ibid, p.13-15
[18] Ibid, p.12

c) The wider context; the message may be intensified, or overshadowed by other events. Indeed, other physical, historical and social contingencies may affect whether the event is even regarded as trauma in the first place.[19]

ORIGINAL NARRATIVE OF COLLECTIVE IDENTITY

↓

THE TRAUMATIC EVENT or PHENOMENON

↓

CULTURAL MEDIATION
The creation of cultural products and messages which broadcast a message of trauma (including landscape imagery)

↓

ACCEPTANCE OF THE MESSAGE OF TRAUMA
Often this is a contested process, and the message may fail

↓

NEW NARRATIVE OF COLLECTIVE IDENTITY: "the traumatised"
(This may transform, or *reinforce* the identity of marginalised groups)

↓

ACTION / RECOVERY / CONTESTATION
The processes by which the new "traumatised" status is negotiated, and becomes "normality"

Table 1: Illustration of the Cultural Construction of Trauma

So, given these contingencies, what appears to be a very simple process is in fact a fragile and brittle one, which may be thrown off course by any number of factors. To illustrate this, Alexander cites the example of the "rape of Nanking", in which 300,000 Chinese residents of Nanjing were massacred by Japanese soldiers in 1938. Although this event was widely reported by Western journalists it was never perceived as a "trauma", either within or outside of China. If trauma stems from the nature of the event itself, as lay opinion, and trauma theory would suggest, then this catastrophic event should inevitably be seen as traumatic. However, it has failed to be acknowledged as such because the contemporary

[19] In the context of this study we may speculate that media coverage of the F.M.D. crisis may well have been very different if the attack on New York's Twin Towers had occurred in February, rather than September 2001, and this *may* have altered both the notion of F.M.D. as a traumatic event, and the practical realities of how the disease was approached. In fact, the study of trauma is always inflected by the emergence of new events to be assessed. So the idea of what constitutes trauma itself constantly changes through contingent events in the wider world.

Chinese society did not have the cultural resources or inclination to frame the events in Nanjing as a collective trauma.[20] Yet while the message of trauma may not be successfully broadcast at the time of the event, it can be constructed retrospectively.[21] Similarly, it may be essentially predicted, especially if a marginalised group sees that an imminent change will reinforce their marginalised position. This is in effect what happened during the demise of mining. The miners' unions went on strike in 1984 because they *predicted* that the Conservative policy of pit closure would lead to traumatic effects in their communities; they began to broadcast a message of trauma before the event.

Alexander's process of the cultural construction of trauma may provide a simple and logical way to assess how the communities of northern England have been perceived as traumatised by recent changes. Yet that simplicity is deceptive, and some of the assumptions and features of this process must be more critically examined. Ultimately, the effect of the cultural construction of trauma is to alter individuals' and groups' sense of identity.

Identity and Labelling

In fact, while we might suggest that trauma disrupts the narrative of identity, we should not assume that the pre-traumatised state represents a stable or fixed identity. While we, as individuals or groups may place great emphasis upon tradition and continuity, we also accept a certain amount of evolution and change in our identities. This evolution is influenced by any number of external factors, and how we see our own position in regard to those factors. We constantly negotiate our identity in regard to changing circumstances. One of these factors is the internalised perception of how we relate to others; it informs the perception of similarity and difference. This is also a constantly shifting negotiation, and so Richard Jenkins suggests therefore that we do not talk of identity, but a *process of*

[20] Alexander, op cit, p.26

[21] Ibid, p.8. In fact, in 2003, Alexander's own example of the "rape of Nanking" became the subject of Ye Zhaoyan's best-selling novel *Nanjing 1937 - A Love Story* (London: Faber & Faber, 2003), which graphically highlights the tragic events of 1938. As Michael Berry's recent study of such contemporary Chinese film and literature shows, such events in Chinese history are now being re-contextualised as cultural traumas, as a new generation of "carrier groups" emerge with the opening of the Chinese political and cultural system. See Berry, M, *A History of Pain: Trauma in Modern Chinese Literature and Film* (Columbia University Press, 2008).

identification. Identity is, in fact a constant process of mediation, a dialectic between the internal vision of self and the external vision of self.[22] This is as applicable to groups as individuals. Individuals negotiate identity in regard to the collective, and the collective in regard to other collectives, as well as abstract notions such as region or state. Needless to say, this involves a certain amount of stereotyping. We focus upon generalised similarities or differences and ignore complexities. Stereotyping happens not only when we encounter those that are different to ourselves, but also when the individual visualises their own collective. Individual identities are negotiated in relation to a perceived collective identity.[23] Otherwise cohesive groups could not hope to exist.

Therefore, this constantly negotiated process of identification is not controlled solely by the individual or collective. Others actively constitute identity, not only in the practicalities of how they treat us, but also through naming or categorising. This is fundamental to the cultural construction of trauma, as that construction depends on the action of categorising a community as "traumatised", and the acceptance of that category by the affected community. In effect, the process of labelling is more important than the trauma itself. Alexander suggests that the trauma could even be imagined (and thus the group named as "traumatised" equally imagined), if the name is accepted, it will have real effects.[24] As

[22] Jenkins, R, *Social Identity, 2nd Edition* (London: Routledge, 2004), p.5-6. This does not mean that identity is constantly unstable. Fluidity is tempered with aspects of stability, such as ideas of tradition and belonging. To talk about an identity that is not anchored in some way, which is always in flux, undermines the very concept of an identity.

[23] This is an abstraction of the community the individual belongs to, that George Herbert Mead termed the *generalised other*. See Mead, G, *Mind, Self and Society from the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist* (Chicago: C.W. Morris, 1934), p.178, in ibid, p.41.

[24] Alexander, op cit, p.8. A successful message of trauma based upon imaginary circumstances is probably highly unlikely in the contemporary media-saturated environment, for two reasons. Firstly intensive media attention into any event, in a highly competitive news market will reveal inaccuracies. Secondly, our in built scepticism towards the news story relies upon it being based in fact. Without some assertion of fact, the audience for the message may simply cease to care about the traumatic phenomenon. Furthermore, the claim to "truth" is of paramount importance to the very status of some traumas, such as massacres, which are subsequently contested by the "innocent" and "guilty". That the message of trauma is based upon some objective reality or truth, is often a fundamental part of the of the construction process. However, Benedict Anderson suggests that all communities are imagined so they cannot be distinguished by their falseness / genuineness. Anderson, B, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983)

Jenkins suggests (echoing W.I. Thomas), "In sociological terms, if people think something is real, it is, if only terms of the actions that it brings about and its consequences."[25]

After all, labelling a group as traumatised does have practical consequences. This is the difference between Jenkins' *nominal* and *virtual* aspects of identification. The nominal aspect is the label by which an individual or collective is identified. For this label to have meaning it must have consequences for that individual; these consequences are the virtual aspect of identification. The label may be contested by the bearer, and it may not lead to just one set of consequences, but if the label makes a difference to the life of the bearer, and these consequences *are in agreement with the label*, then the bearer will internalise this identification. So to be named as "traumatised" may bring stigmatisation, or financial and medical support. The consequences that stem from the name reinforce the name. This means that trauma affects identity in at least two ways. Firstly, there are the changes directly brought about by the traumatic event itself: for example through revolution ("I was a farmer from *x*, but now I am a refugee living in *y*"). These direct changes may also stem from nominal classifications ("you have been expelled from our country because we see you as unwanted"). Secondly there are the changes to identity that stem from internalising the name "the traumatised". At the very least nomination marks out a group as "different", in that they are suffering a phenomenon that others are not. It thus sets up an identity boundary between self and other that must be negotiated.[26] So Alexander's process of cultural construction works through Jenkins's process of identification.

We can directly apply these processes of identification to the events in Cumbria and Durham. Firstly there were the changes in identity brought about by the practical effects of

---

[25] Jenkins, op cit, p.82. Jenkins builds upon the "Thomas Theorem", which states "if men [*sic*] define situations as real, they are real in their consequences", Thomas, W.I and Thomas, D.S, *The Child in America: Behaviour Problems and Programs* (New York: Knopf, 1928), p.572

[26] Of course it may be suggested that for the act of naming to have an effect upon identification, the named must be aware of its categorisation. This brings us back to Marx's differentiation between "groups": collectives that define themselves, and "categories": collectives that are defined by others. The *group* is always aware of its collective existence; its members, in recognising themselves as such, effectively constitute the group that to which they belong; it is inter-subjectively *real*. (Marx, K, *The Poverty of Philosophy* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1975, cited in Jenkins, op cit, p.83). However, we may suggest groups (such as the severely mentally disabled or severely traumatised) that are not aware of their categorisation. That categorisation may, though, still affect their lives (through public policy and allocation of resources), which in turn will affect their identity.

the traumatic event. The most obvious change in these cases is the economic change from working to not working. This brought about an immediate negotiation of identity. After this, the events brought other acts of naming. In Cumbria labels based upon the notions of contagion or infection directly led to virtual effects, such as enforced quarantine, or self-imposed isolation by those who did not want to spread the disease to their neighbours (a very obvious internalisation of a nominal classification). In the case of mining, nominal labels had virtual effects even before the trauma of colliery closure. During the Miners' Strike the miners became "the enemy within", and were treated accordingly through draconian policing measures. Labels contributed to the trauma itself. Since closure, terms such as "redundancy" and "depressed area" have become nominal labels directly influencing identity. These labels have had effects even before any mention of "trauma".

Yet we must remember the brittle nature of the cultural construction of trauma. Just because a group is ultimately identified as "traumatised" does not mean it will accept that classification. Individuals feel the effects of trauma differently, and may contest that label. One of the defining features of trauma identified by both Smelser and Alexander is that it is met with ambivalence.[27] The message of trauma entails a number of propositions (what, who, where, why, etc) and these are rarely accepted without contestation. The cultural construction of trauma is met with counter claims that may prevent a community of the traumatised forming.

Community Dislocation and Formation

The nature of trauma itself provides an obstacle to the formation of a cohesive, self-identifying group. At the individual level, trauma engenders symptoms such as withdrawal and depression. This may prevent social interaction and undermine the collective networks that allow the community to function. In the words of Kai Erikson, trauma constitutes "a blow to the basic tissues of social life that damages the bonds attaching people together and impairs the prevailing sense of communality".[28] This unravelling of the sense of shared community results in the perception that:

[27] Smelser, op cit, p.44-55, Alexander, op cit, p12-24
[28] Erikson, K, "Notes on Trauma and Community", in Caruth (1995), op cit, p.187

"'I' continue to exist, though damaged and maybe even permanently changed. 'You' continue to exist, though distant and hard to relate to. But 'we' no longer exist as a connected pair or as linked cells in a larger communal body".[29]

This unpicking of the community is highly pertinent to this study. Maggie Mort and her colleagues provide a number of testimonies that detail individual withdrawal from social networks during F.M.D. However in practical terms, quarantine policies also cut the physical interactions of communities. Similarly, in the case of the Durham mining villages, Amber have portrayed instances of individual withdrawal.[30] Indeed, withdrawal is a practical consequence of unemployment: it removes the individual from the social spheres of work and often, leisure.

However, a paradoxical feature of communal trauma is that it both dislocates, and *engenders* community.[31] Anthony Wallace noted in the 1950s how a disastrous event can initially deal a devastating blow to communities but afterwards, when the realisation that the community still exists, a "stage of euphoria" sets in. This gives rise to a sense of group spirit and communal feeling.[32] A feeling of rebirth motivates community action and a "democracy of distress" grows. Charles Fritz called these new networks, "therapeutic communities".[33] Erikson calls this formation of new social interactions a "gathering of the wounded"; people otherwise unconnected apart from their shared experience of trauma seek each other out and develop a fellowship on the strength of that tie.[34] The idea that trauma leads to the formation of communities goes to the heart of this thesis, and so I shall combine Fritz's and Erikson's descriptions into a shorthand term for this process: *therapeutic gathering*. This is appropriate as it acts as a noun (the social group, either physical or virtual) and a verb (the act of coming together, or formation of that group), but also has connotations of pulling together disparate elements to increase strength or as a

---

[29] Ibid
[30] Witness, for example the social and physical withdrawal of the character Tony (played by Brian Hogg) in Amber's *The Scar* (1997), and his subsequent denial of any existing communal cultural narrative: "that's when there *was* a class, May, when people stood together".
[31] Erikson, op cit, p.186
[32] Wallace, A.F.C., *Tornado in Worcester: Disaster Study 3* (Washington D.C.: National Academy of Sciences, 1957), p.127, cited in ibid, p.189
[33] Fritz, C, "Disaster", in Merton, R & Nisbel, R (Eds), *Contemporary Social Problems* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1961), cited in Erikson, op cit, p.189
[34] Erikson, op cit, p.187

defence (as in a gathering of clans, with associations of ties and shared responsibilities). Therapeutic gathering reflects, and is essential to, the cultural construction of trauma. It is essentially the creation, and acceptance of a message of group identity: "we are the traumatised".

This is, of course, achieved through culture, and the case of F.M.D. provides another apposite example. When biosecurity measures isolated communities from traditional forms of interaction (such as markets and shows), many farmers turned to the internet, mobile phone or texting to communicate and keep informed, often using these technologies for the first time.[35] They were, in effect forming new communities, based upon traumatic experience. The act of naming a community and creating a community were parallel and synonymous processes, and they were based in, and upon cultural forms.

The Role of Culture

It is through culture that trauma is communicated. However, culture is not only a group's expression of this traumatised identity; it is also its experience of identity. As Erikson suggests, "traumatic experiences work their way so thoroughly into the grain of the affected community that they come to supply its prevailing mood and temper, dominate its imagery and its sense of self".[36] Trauma then, dominates the culture of the affected community; it becomes its *only* narrative.[37] So those affected by trauma are not just perceived as traumatised, they are *only* perceived as traumatised; other features of identity become overshadowed. This may explain why, while the practical experience of trauma is to dislocate individuals from society, therapeutic gathering still occurs.

However, given the inherent differences between individuals (differences intensified by traumatic experience), how can cultural forms carry the same set of meanings to every individual in a collective, or enable them to form a collective? For Anthony Cohen, it is the

[35] Hillyard, S, "Farmers and Valuers: Divisions and Divisiveness and the Social Cost of F.M.D.", in Döring, M and Nerlich, B (Eds), *The Social and Cultural Impact of Foot and Mouth Disease in the UK in 2001: Experiences and Analyses* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), p.81-93

[36] Erikson, op cit, p.190

[37] However, we may suggest that is *has* to dominate, given the brittle nature of the cultural construction of trauma. As Alexander states, "For traumas to emerge at the level of the collectivity, social crises must become cultural crises". Alexander, op cit, p.10

very imprecision of meaning in many cultural forms that ensures their relevance. For Cohen, community coherence depends upon masking individual difference. This mask is provided through symbolic forms, one of which is the idea of "community" itself. He suggests that we cannot expect all individuals in a group to derive *the same* meaning from a symbolic form, but they will derive *a* meaning from *the same set* of symbolic forms. For example, the crucifix carries powerful symbolic messages that draw the community of Christianity together. Yet if two individuals discuss precisely what the crucifix means to them, there can be dispute or even conflict. It is the very imprecision of the meaning of the crucifix that enables it to draw individuals under its "symbolic mask". Thus, Cohen proposes that the ties of community can be seen as processes of aggregation, rather than integration; what are maintained in common throughout the group are cultural forms, rather than cultural content.[38]

Landscape imagery can act as this imprecise symbolic mask. Dramatic imagery of pyres and burning livestock actually send out a rather inaccurate and vague message when it comes to human suffering. They do however carry a set of connotations, such as alarm, crisis, disease, etc. These are fairly broad symbolic messages that can be relevant to any number of personal experiences of F.M.D., whether that experience involves pyres and burning livestock or not. Furthermore, like "community", the concepts of "trauma" or "traumatised" are similarly indistinct symbolic qualifications that can mask a number of different experiences or states. Yet these qualifications also draw people together. The mask can be seen as Jenkins' nominal identification of the community; the practice and experience of community membership as the virtual aspect of this identification. So if individuals make meaning from the symbolic mask, they will act accordingly; they will come together in therapeutic gathering.

These symbolic masks are created by the social agents. These may be the objective bodies of the press, more partisan legal or religious bodies, or simply individuals who feel deeply for a community that is suffering (such as those who begin websites and support groups, or

[38] Cohen, A, P, *The Symbolic Construction of Community, 5th Edition* (London: Routledge, 1995), p.20-1

take documentary photographs). However, the cultural construction of trauma is a brittle process, because there are limits to the powers of those agents.

Social Actors

In order to disseminate a message of trauma, agents must have the power to identify the trauma, the ability to represent it, and importantly, an interest in disseminating its message.[39] These agents are in essence defining identity, and making claims strong enough to become the basis for community foundation. As such the success of the cultural construction of trauma is dependent upon their in-built power, or limitations. For example, our faith in the objectivity of the press may have waned alongside its metamorphosis into info-tainment, with a resulting limiting of its influence (or at least a change in what it is expected to provide).[40] The formulaic and concise nature of press reports can also truncate the possibility of an effective message of trauma. Nevertheless, people are keen to challenge reports if they feel that they are misrepresentative. Indeed, the documentary photography of Foot and Mouth emerged precisely because it was felt the press were focussing purely upon the dramatic imagery and headlines of the story. Other carrier groups have their own limitations. Art and photography can be limited by the sites of its display; academic writing by the limits of its audience.[41]

The power and interests of these agents is all important in the cultural construction of trauma. It is tempting to see therapeutic gathering as a democratic public sphere, or at least a counter sphere; power relations would appear to be suspended in communal interest, and experiences are shared in an atmosphere of empathic listening. However the discussion of the trauma before a wider audience certainly does not resemble such a sphere. Power relations are not suspended, and transparent speech situations are not necessarily achieved. Actors must have the social capital to convince an audience that trauma has occurred, and

---

[39] Alexander, op cit, p.11

[40] Michael Schudson has outlined that, contrary to popular belief, the widespread anti-Vietnam War sentiment of the late 1960s was not *a result* of press coverage, but vice versa. Coverage may even have diluted and diminished the political momentum of the movement. Schudson, M, *The Sociology of News* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2003), p.19-22

[41] As Edward Said noted, academic texts are predominantly only read by other academics. Said, E, "Opponents, Audiences, Constituencies and Community, in Foster, H (Ed), *Postmodern Culture* (London: Pluto Press, 1985), p.138-9

these acts of persuasion must take place in certain arenas, dependent upon the nature of the trauma itself. As Alexander states, cultural construction is powerfully mediated by the nature of these arenas, which may be legal, legislative, aesthetic, or academic, and social stratification (which parties have access to these arenas).[42] Susannah Radstone suggests that even the seemingly authentic personal memories of trauma delivered in "Truth and Reconciliation" tribunals are actually powerfully mediated by the actions of delivering personal accounts within the legal institution of power, and before the eyes of the press. Yet even assuming that these sites *did not* influence testimony, this testimony would not provide a transparent and indexical link to the traumatic experience. Radstone suggests that the way that memories themselves are constructed and formalised within the individual consciousness, is influenced by pre-existing narrative frameworks; we have a system of narrative templates which determine how we formalise our own memories, even incongruent traumatic ones, and these cultural frameworks are themselves determined by the structures of power.[43] The way we remember is highly influenced by culture.

In fact, therapeutic gathering can only be seen as a counter sphere in very idealised terms. Jurgen Habermas' sphere emphasises an enlightenment philosophy of rational thought, and a purely discursive sphere free of the contamination of action.[44] The cultural construction of trauma falls short on both counts. Firstly it is not rational, it is decidedly emotive (indeed, traumatic experience itself defies rational explanation). Secondly, it demands action. The discussion of trauma is rarely merely speculative; it nearly always proposes practical measures to alleviate suffering. The fact that the cultural construction of trauma is so marked by passionate opinion and the influence of power means that one of its most notable features is contestation; the message of trauma is almost always greeted with ambivalence.

---

[42] Alexander, op cit, p.15

[43] Radstone, S, "Reconceiving Binaries: the Limits of Memory", in *History Workshop Journal, Issue 59* (2005), p.134-150. In this she appears to confirm Maurice Halbwachs' suggestion that individual memory is fundamentally shaped by collective memory; if only in using accepted cultural narratives to shape and represent it. For Halbwachs individual memory is dependent on collective memory, as we always think as members of the group, and because our thinking keeps us in contact with that group. See Halbwachs, M, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992) [Originally, *Les Traveux de L'Anée Sociologique*, Paris: F. Alcan, 1925]

[44] Hill, M & Montag, W, "What was, What is the Public Sphere? Post-Cold War Reflections", in Hill, M and Montag, W, *Masses, Classes and the Public Sphere* (London: Verso, 2000), p.6

Defence, Ambivalence and Politicisation

We cannot assume that victims will even want to air their grievances. In the face of trauma, individuals and groups adopt certain defence mechanisms and coping strategies. At the individual level, Smelser has outlined a number of typical responses that act as a defence from the full implications of trauma (and may be employed simultaneously):

a) Blocking (for example, denial);

b) Reversing (turning contempt to awe);

c) Projecting (shifting the implications or effects to another individual);

d) Insulating (admitting the cause but depersonalising or downplaying the associations).[45]

These responses may be applied to how groups behave, and may well influence the construction of the trauma message. While wholesale denial would stop the message in its tracks, certain parts of the affected group may well contest the existence of trauma. Similarly, religious or aid services may *project* the effects of the trauma onto others; while aiding the community they may downplay their own trauma. Massive catastrophes such as volcanoes or tsunamis certainly engender the act of *reversing*; these are often represented through the imagery of the sublime and frequently confuse contempt and awe.

Another coping mechanism, and of utmost importance to the cultural construction of trauma, is apportioning blame. Alexander proposes that conveying who or what is to blame for a crisis is an integral part of the message of trauma. The notion of blame can be traumatogenic in itself, deepening feelings of oppression or marginalisation. Yet it can also be a coping mechanism; for example, deflecting the incomprehensibility of an ungovernable event by attributing blame to bodies that should have predicted it, or assuaged its effects. The accusations of inefficiency aimed at MAFF during the F.M.D. epidemic is an obvious example. Furthermore, trauma can also be intensified if sufferers are framed as complicit in their own pain, as Douglas Crimp has suggested, using the

[45] Smelser, op cit, p.45

example of the A.I.D.S. crisis.[46] Conversely, this can lead to insulating coping mechanisms, and a downplaying the traumatic effects by individuals or groups who do not want to be stigmatised.

As the A.I.D.S. crisis showed, trauma is also a politicising process; it can change a social community into a political community, especially if governments are seen as complicit in, or ignoring the trauma.[47] Of course, some traumas are a direct result of state political oppression. An obvious case is apartheid in South Africa, but a sense of state oppression is also highly pertinent to the miners' experience in Britain. Traumatic events which are unrelated to government actions may also intensify previous political convictions, and some carrier groups may intentionally politicise the trauma. Ambivalence and political contestation do not merely stem from trauma; they work to define the limits of what trauma is, through the discussion and negotiation they provoke. This contestation can also reveal aspects of reality that have been hidden. Indeed, these may be revealed by the trauma itself. This is particularly relevant in the case of Cumbria, in which the communication of trauma highlighted realities about the use of, and access to the rural space that had been previously under-examined and eclipsed by long-standing cultural myths.

Parametric Factors

In Cumbria F.M.D. revealed that agricultural communities were certainly not self-contained, and were subject to the influences of phenomena in the wider world (and not only those with a direct affect upon farming, such as national or European agricultural policies).These influences can be seen as Piotr Sztompka's *parametric factors*; factors that, although not directly related to the traumatogenic phenomenon nevertheless heighten or diminish its effects. For example, a community suffering from the effects of a catastrophic flood may be adversely affected if there is also a sudden national recession. A child suffering abuse will be affected by the death of a favourite relative or friend. The combination of such events has a cumulative effect, which may be practical, or symbolic.

[46] Caruth, C & Keenan, T, "'The AIDS Crisis is not Over': A Conversation with Gregg Bordowitz, Douglas Crimp and Laura Pinsky", in Caruth (1995), op cit, p.256

[47] If the affected group is categorised in a certain way by government agencies, it may become a site of contest and resistance. After all, the categorisation processes of the state are directly linked to the production of disciplinary power. See Jenkins, op cit, p.84

Given the importance of context in the brittle process of the construction of trauma, some events may only become traumatic because of parametric factors; these factors cause communities who could otherwise cope to reach the limits of their resilience. Simple comparison may be a parametric factor; one group suffers while another very visibly succeeds. Parametric factors may exist along a continuum from embedded communal memories which contribute to trauma in a very clear way ("we have always been victims of oppression, and so we are again") to seemingly unrelated factors ("we have experienced a terrorist bombing *and* the market for our biggest local industry has also collapsed").

During traumatogenic social change Sztompka suggests that one of the most significant parametric factors is simple generational turnover, in that one generation sets faith by one set of standards, the next generation by another.[48] The idea of generational difference is of particular relevance in the case of the Durham mining village. The idea of the "death of community" provided the impetus to the Miners' Strike, and was often framed in terms of closure robbing the next generation of their occupational birthright. However, class and union loyalties are often not felt by the younger generation. Testimonies concerning the communal experience of post-closure communities also draw attention to youth delinquency and "lack of discipline" as a traumatic feature of social deterioration. Yet parametric factors can also *alleviate* trauma. Generational turnover may serve to separate one section of a community from the direct experience of trauma. The new generation may embrace formally ignored opportunities in terms of education or mobility that mean release from the traumatic situation. Generational turnover may also bring communal hope, and recovery. Recovery is a natural part of the cultural construction of trauma. Events have a lifespan; floods recede, epidemics burn out. If trauma has been caused by social or economic change (and the message of trauma successfully delivered), various support and regeneration efforts will be implemented to alleviate the suffering. The trauma will become part of communal memory. Yet this is not to say that ambivalence and contestation cease.

[48] Sztompka, P, "The Trauma of Social Change: A Case of Postcommunist Societies", in Alexander et al, op cit, p.169

Discussion, Recovery and Memory

A successfully delivered message of trauma can provoke direct action to alleviate pain. Yet the mere fact that the message of trauma has been established and accepted may indicate the start of recovery. It signifies that a group has accepted the label "traumatised" and thus are starting to reconcile the event with a new identity. Of course, if the traumatic conditions continue with no alleviation, then this process will experience setbacks. Official bodies may decide *not* to recommend relief or legislative changes, engendering a feeling that suffering has been for nothing. This may serve to extend the trauma, to prevent "closure". If the message of trauma is generally accepted, both within the group and the wider audience, the cultural processes of reflection occur: inquiries; apportioning blame; legislative changes; and cultural representation and expression. A process of *routinisation* occurs; emotions calm, memorials are established and inquiries look into the lessons to be learned. Academic or official specialists examine the minutiae of the phenomenon and its effects. Alexander suggests this serves to "detach affect from meaning" and results in the "triumph of the mundane" (which may also extend trauma if victims feel they are being forgotten or their pain archived).[49] Ambivalence becomes more about how to remember the trauma than whether it has occurred; it becomes about contesting memory as much as identity.

Trauma is not only identity-forming, it is memory-forming; the traumatic event is defined by its incongruity with normality; it stands out. It becomes a marker in the narrative of individual or community. Of course, the relationship between identity and memory is reciprocal: memory provides the scaffold upon which identity is built; and how we conceive our identity determines what we consider it is relevant to remember.[50] The

[49] Alexander, ibid, p.23. This thesis itself constitutes part of that process, and so I have attempted to approach this subject matter with due attention to responsibility and sensitivity.

[50] We may draw upon the influential revelations of Halbwachs. He suggested that a collectively imagined and shared past is essential for social unity; that the function of remembering is not to reflect upon the past but to promote commitment to the group by symbolising its values and aspirations. Collective memory is always socially framed because groups determine what is memorable and how it will be remembered (See Halbwachs, op cit). Collective memory then is dependent upon social identity; what we remember is dependent upon how we perceive ourselves. Furthermore, what we remember *influences* our identity; it forms the narrative structure of that identity. We may accept Jenkins's proposal of a fluid process of identification and suggest that our identity will change, and what we choose to remember will change, but memory and identity are still mutually dependent (we may return to the anomalous case of the severely mentally handicapped, who still have a social and cultural identity, though not perhaps dependent upon cultural memory, as wider cultural memory still informs their identity, and how they are treated by others).

traumatic memory is referred back to as a constituent part of the individual's or collective's identity, especially as the cultural construction of trauma ensures that the event has become stored in cultural forms. Yet these forms (and memories) may continue to be contested. After all, trauma engenders passionate opinion and political debate, particularly given the importance of blame in its construction. The official memorial may indicate the routinisation of the trauma message, and also become a site of site of comfort or homage, but it can equally act as a site in which memory, culture and identity continue to be contested even beyond the point at which trauma is accepted (as the debates that often accompany what form memorials should take show).

Ultimately, trauma is a time of radical change, and at such times cultural forms are tested and re-contextualised. Trauma gives rise to new cultural forms, but groups may also return to traditional forms in order to establish a link with the former identity, and so emphasise continuity and recovery, and resilience against the effects of crisis. This return could just as easily be overtly nostalgic, and suggest repression and a continuing inability to come to terms with the break between past and present.[51] In County Durham both tendencies can be identified in various re-engagements with the annual Durham Miners' Gala, and show how traditional cultural forms continue to provide a site for post-traumatic (or even still-traumatised) negotiation of memory and identity. This negotiation also signifies the end of the cultural construction of trauma as outlined by Jeffrey Alexander. However, the example of County Durham raises the question of how Piotr Sztompka's theory of the trauma of social change fits within this process.

Addendum: The Trauma of Social Change

Alexander is keen to emphasise that the construction of trauma does not only apply to catastrophic and unpredicted events. He also suggests that claims for trauma can actually be made before the event: trauma can be predicted.[52] Nevertheless the process of cultural

[51] In some cases traditional forms are re-contextualised to reveal their underlying ideology, and illustrate how the effects of power have been traumatic (such as in Feminist art historical analysis, or the renegotiation of the African American history of slavery). While contemporary society can be accused of stripping cultural forms of their political history, and turning them into heritage, in an age obsessed with trauma, it is just as likely to imbue banal artefacts with a traumatic history.

[52] Alexander, op cit, p.8

construction is most easily envisaged as stemming from a point in time, which separates one condition (normality) from a very different one (trauma). The overall process of how a message of trauma is constructed and broadcast is equally applicable to Sztompka's findings from his study of marginalised communities in post-Communist Eastern Europe. However, this division between a state of normality and abnormality is not so clear cut. Sztompka, in studying social and economic upheaval focuses upon situations in which conditions *gradually* change; in which communities feel a building, rather than sudden sense of abnormality. Admittedly, he also suggests that often gradual change can reach a point at which it has the effect of a radically new event.[53] Change reaches a tipping point, or communities reach the limit of what they can tolerate; the environment becomes, in effect, new. However, it is in terms of this building sense of abnormality that Sztompka provides an invaluable concept to study change in County Durham.

His proposition is that as a society goes through economic or cultural changes various circumstances build and combine to undermine communities' resistance to adverse conditions; they come together to increase the *potential* for trauma. As certain parts of society embrace, or even flourish under the new conditions, other are increasingly left behind. For these stranded communities, the cultural constants that they use to make sense of their identity begin to seem outdated. This is his "cultural disorganisation": the disorientation felt when the symbols, traditions and social practices that underpin communal identity and memory cease to be of any use in explaining real circumstances. It is a communal condition Sztompka sees as paralleling "cognitive dissonance" in the individual, in which objects and actions become foreign and disorientating as their assumed meanings are revealed as contradictory to actual experience.[54] When more adverse conditions are piled upon the community, it simply does not have the cultural resources to fall back on to resist that adversity, and full-blown communal trauma begins to emerge.[55]

[53] Sztompka, op cit, p.158
[54] Ibid, p.164
[55] Ibid, p.158-167

Conclusion: Landscape and Trauma

So, we can combine the theories provided by the C.A.S.B.S. research in one framework, and summarise them by relating them to one cultural product: landscape imagery. Landscape acts as a reservoir of ideas that reflect identity. In a scenario applicable to the case of mining, changes occur to threaten that identity, and nostalgic landscape images are created focussing upon the idealised community, suggesting that it is about to be lost. They predict trauma. Acknowledgement of that potential trauma prompts communities into action, which gives rise to landscapes that begin to reflect the *present* situation. The incongruity of those landscapes with accepted ideas of what tradition and identity, and landscape means prompts cultural disorganisation.

In both the case of Cumbria and Durham a fundamental alteration now occurs within the landscape. The way that people use and live that land is disrupted and there is an incomprehensible change in *lifescape*. Landscape images capture those changes. Often these appear initially in press imagery, which may be necessarily simplistic and dramatic. However, while this imagery may not be broadcasting the notion of "trauma" as such, it is highlighting that a disaster or crisis has occurred.

This causes ambivalence and prompts other social actors to adjudge these landscapes as misrepresentative or simplistic. They become "carrier groups", broadcasting a message of trauma, by producing landscapes which explicitly relate those changes in the land to human pain. These often include references to the previous, unaffected landscape in order to emphasise those changes, and may work as indexical evidence, symbolic comment, or through affect. The landscapes work alongside other cultural products such as literature or academic study to provide a comprehensive message that trauma has taken place. Sometimes they are used as direct evidence, or non-linguistic affirmation, to support those other products.

If the message is broadcast successfully, identity will be changed and the community will be acknowledged, and acknowledge itself, as "traumatised". These landscape images now become a site of memory. They are returned to as a memorial, for the community to recall

how their identity has been changed by the trauma. Yet they may remain as a site of contestation, re-exhibited if it seems that the traumatic events will be forgotten or down-played. Alternatively other agents may turn to traditional, pre-trauma landscape imagery to assert that the trauma was inconsequential. In some cases recovery may be incomplete, and overtly nostalgic landscapes may emerge as an instance of cultural repression, reflecting a wish to return to the original pre-traumatised identity.

Throughout these processes the images used to disseminate trauma rely upon an implicit knowledge, and reference to the landscapes of the pre-traumatised state. The following chapter addresses those accepted landscapes and their connotations in regard to Cumbria immediately before the 2001 Foot and Mouth epidemic.

CHAPTER TWO

Perceptions of Cumbria at the Turn of the Millennium

> *"Here we are at the beginning of the twenty-first century, with a dominantly urban readership – well educated, electronically connected, lifestyle-oriented consumers, well aware of how the world is rapidly changing – still clinging to an old symbolic imagery of the rural world."*[1]

Landscape imagery communicates trauma by contrasting a pre-existing, supposedly normal condition with a changed, abnormal condition. The dramatic media imagery of Foot and Mouth Disease in Cumbria in spring 2001 made precisely this contrast; it undermined the cultural perception of what the countryside should look like and mean. This was not just imagery of death, but of "death in the wrong place".[2] Given the abundance of such imagery, it may well have served to permanently unsettle those cultural perceptions. Indeed for Liz Wells, the probable legacy of Foot and Mouth imagery will be "a revolution in pastoral idealism".[3]

The idealisation of the countryside in English culture has been well charted, particularly by Raymond Williams.[4] This ideal has been created from the city. As the modern city expanded the rural acted as a utopian foil to the social problems of urban living. If the city threatened alienation, the country promised the authentic social state. It is an opposition that was formalised by the German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies, in his *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* of 1887.[5] In Tönnies' two patterns of social relations, g*emeinschaft* is our original social state, typified by relationships of kin, and based on long-standing emotional bonds. He suggested that this was more likely to occur in rural societies, which were economically homogenous, and in which social status was fixed from birth. Alternatively,

---

[1] Bunce, M, "Reproducing Rural Idylls", in Cloke, P (Ed), *Country Visions* (Harlow: Pearson Educational Ltd, 2003), p.15
[2] Convery, I, Bailey, C, Mort, M, & Baxter, J, "Death in the Wrong Place? Emotional Geographies of the UK 2001 Foot and Mouth Disease Epidemic", in *The Journal of Rural Studies, No.21* (2005), p.99
[3] Wells, L, "Darkening Days: A Critical Scenario in Three Acts", in Darwell, J, *Dark Days* (Stockport: Dewi Lewis, 2007), p.13
[4] Williams, R, *The Country and the City, 2nd Edition* (St. Albans: Paladin, 1975)
[5] Tönnies, F, *Community and Association: Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* (London: Routledge, 1955) [originally 1887], cited in Hillyard, S, *The Sociology of Rural Life* (Oxford: Berg, 2007), p.6-36

g*esellschaft* is a set of relations more typical in the urban environment. It is characterised by individualistic, impersonal and contractual interactions, based upon rational calculation. The social network is marked by the division of labour and thus its actors are open to social mobility. Subsequently, gemeinschaft has been reified into the positive concept of "community", gesellschaft merely "association".

Tönnies' ideas filtered through early sociology, and became a staple assumption about the ways we experience rural and urban living in western culture.[6] The negative aspects of the constantly expanding, modern city were contrasted with a deeply nostalgic yearning for the disappearing "uncorrupted" primitive set of social relations and loyalties.[7] It is an assumption particularly reflected in landscape imagery. The countryside is unquestionably positive. If it is not, it is because the city has started to exert its influence. This "pastoral idealism" is practically the defining feature of British culture.

Yet times have changed. Agriculture no longer corresponds to the idealised pastoral image, and in economic terms is less important than it once was; Britain now depends far more on leisure and entertainment. The countryside and the pastoral are becoming detached, as the countryside itself becomes more obviously a site of leisure consumption, over and above a site of production. There has also always been the counter discourse to Tönnies' binary states; technology as progress, the city as a site of freedom.[8] Now we are no longer shackled by the city; it is also something we consume. The country is no longer conceptually opposed to the city, or indeed, physically separated. Efficient travel, suburbanisation and communication technology mean that country and city lives blend. We can be psychologically urban while being physically rural. New idyllic countryside developments are built exactly on such a premise: the promise of gemeinschaft, the delivery

---

[6] Tönnies' seminal work was largely overlooked on original publication. However it was influential on the work of Durkheim and his notion of urban "anomie", and was significantly more successful when reprinted in 1912. Strasser, H, "Review of: Cahnman, W.J, *Ferdinand Tönnies*: *A New Evaluation. Essays and Documents*", in *Contemporary Sociology*, Vol. 4, No. 5 (September 1975), p. 545

[7] In fact, as Raymond Williams pointed out, in England we can trace a link between nostalgia and the pastoral throughout the history of "green language"; the idyllic bucolic poetry that stretches back to the Elizabethan era. Williams, op cit, p.158-175

[8] Tönnies' contemporary Georg Simmel suggests that the experience of the modern city is defined by the negotiation of *both* impulses: alienation and liberation. See, Simmel, G, "The Metropolis and Mental Life" in Levine, D (Ed), *On Individuality and Social Forms* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), p.324-339

of gesellschaft. They play upon embedded notions of the idealised rural space, but without the drawbacks. They both reflect and contribute to the fact that, as Alun Howkins has suggested, our perception of rural life in recent times has tightened rather than weakened its embrace upon the idea of the idyll.[9]

These long held ideas about the countryside were shattered when Foot and Mouth swept through the British countryside in 2001. Shocking press images of pyres of livestock carcasses exploded fondly held perceptions of a countryside of cornfields and lowing cattle. Foot and Mouth also revealed realities that had been hidden. This was particularly obvious in Cumbria and Devon, two counties particularly reliant on tourist consumption.

This consumption is based upon pastoral idealism. In Cumbria that means the Lakeland landscape, and the vast majority of circulated images of the county are of the Lakes. This has served to edit other parts of Cumbria from the national perception, but also meant that Cumbria is seen in a certain way: empty, idyllic, timeless, and healthy. The imagery of Foot and Mouth immediately countered these ideas; it showed that Cumbria is a *lived*, not idyllic space, sometimes an untidy or everyday space. The crisis also revealed that this landscape is connected to those around it. It exposed the county as a system of differing networks and influences, most obviously, that of global tourism itself. Yet the dominant vision of Lakeland *as* Cumbria has also led to a certain way of viewing that particular space. It is self-contained and not influenced by the wider world. This chapter assesses how the persistent pastoral idealism in English culture, and the perception of the Lake District *as* Cumbria, have merged to create a certain perception of the county. The imagery of Foot and Mouth not only threatened these notions of the pastoral, but actually drew attention to the naivety of our idealism.

The Rural Myth

How the notion of the rural idyll has been constantly reinforced throughout British culture has been extensively explored, to the point that, as Michael Bunce states "it is no longer a

[9] Howkins, A, "Blue Remembered Hills: Painting and History", in Adams, C (Ed*), Love, Labour and Loss: 300 Years of British Livestock Farming in Art* (Carlisle: Tullie House Museum & Art Gallery, 2002), p.67

matter of debate".[10] There are though, two salient features of that rural idyll that should be highlighted. The first is that it is a *pastoral* space. The countryside may have been culturally constructed from the cities of the industrial revolution, but the imagery shows a landscape shaped by the agricultural revolution. Even the seemingly empty space shows a landscape shaped by agriculture.

The second feature is that the rural idyll is constructed for the middle class. As Bunce points out, the romantic idealisation of the rural concerns not merely "an instinctive reaction against urbanisation but…with sentiments that could only have emerged in the material conditions of the rise of urban-industrialism itself".[11] Large-scale migration from the country to the towns cemented the position of the land-owning gentry, but also created a large middle class whose method of social distinction was to align themselves to the values of this gentry, through culture and leisure. Simultaneously, an ever more depopulated rural space corresponded to romantic notions of an un-peopled natural environment, and provided an arena for aspirational leisure opportunities. So the appreciation of the rural idyll became an indicator of middle class taste, power and aspirations.[12]

Consequently, the middle class constructed that idyll as representing a "timeless social order".[13] It reflected their aspiration to achieve higher social status, but also cemented their social inferiors in their place. The rural represented "real" England with social relations "as they should be".[14] This is reiterated from Victorian culture, to the country house novels of P.G. Wodehouse and Agatha Christie, to the contemporary heritage film.[15] It is also bolstered by its antithesis: the vision of the urban industrial dystopia (with its militant working classes).

---

[10] Bunce, op cit, p.23
[11] Ibid, p.16
[12] As Raymond Williams points out, the growth of this urban middle class resulted in a massive expansion, and increased demand for "culture", from the eighteenth century onwards. Williams, R, *Culture and Society* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1960), cited in Bunce (2003), op cit, p.17. This demand is subsequently extended throughout society with the expansion of printing, education, art galleries, etc. From the eighteenth century onwards, the bucolic ideal becomes a desire allied to social mobility, across all classes.
[13] Bunce, op cit, p.16
[14] Ibid
[15] Evelyn Waugh's *Brideshead Revisited* of 1945, explicitly mourns the demise of a conservative rural social order. Granada Television's dramatisation of the novel in 1981 echoes its emphasis upon the traditional rural social hierarchy as epitome of stability in times of change.

This continuing idealisation has rarely been questioned. There has been an abundance of critical examination of urban social problems, through the discipline of sociology and documentary film and photography, but it has been largely assumed that the social structures of the rural are constant and given. Up until very recently the study of the rural space has been a limited venture in British sociology, mainly isolated to the work of Ray Pahl and Eric Newby in the 1960s and 1970s, to the point that Newby himself suggested that, by 1977, rural sociology had practically ceased to exist.[16] Similarly, documentary has prioritised urban space, mapping every aspect of urban living, from the drama of poverty to the banal spaces of the office or suburban shopping centre. By comparison, rural documentary is a small body of enquiry, plagued by the tendency to slip back into idealising the countryside.[17] Critical and well-known rural documentary photography in the UK is comparatively scarce, though there is of course, a host of photographic material showing rural social and agricultural practices exhibited by local museums and libraries, and published in memoirs and social history books. Yet these too often emphasise disappearing "authentic" ways of life, and a nostalgic yearning for gemeinschaft. In fact, rural documentary often colludes with the portrayal of the English rural idyll recycled in guidebooks, paintings and popular literature.

Fantasies of Not Belonging

However there is another impulse directing our view of the countryside. As Robin Kelsey points out, while culture consistently re-affirms the desire to be reunited with nature, what it actually represents is the desire *not* to belong. Culture is what we perfect to emphasise that we are beyond nature. Landscape is clearly complicit in this; to frame the landscape is to step back from it, a step away from nature to culture.[18] Pictorial and literary landscape, the very medium through which we are educated to observe and desire the rural idyll, is the

[16] Newby, E, *The Deferential Worker: A Study of farm Workers in East Anglia* (London: Allen Lane, 1977) cited in Hillyard, op cit, p.19

[17] So, from Peter Henry Emerson's obsessive editing of the realities of Norfolk rural life in the 1880s, to Edwin Smith's imagery of English rural churches from the 1940s, to James Ravillious' extensive document of Beaford in the South West in the 1970s, there is very little imagery that really questions the notion of the rural idyll in any way.

[18] Kelsey, R, "Landscape as not Belonging", in Ziady DeLue, R and Elkins, J (Eds), *Landscape Theory* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008), p.203-213

very medium that signifies our cultured detachment from it. Our view of the rural is actually infused with conflicting emotions: nostalgic yearning to *return* to an idealised simple state, and a yearning *to be separated* from this state. Landscape, Kelsey suggests, has always been the negotiation of the "fantasy of not belonging".[19]

In fact, recently there has been more critical and academic enquiry into the nature of British rural life. This has come from the discipline of Geography, rather than Sociology, but builds on the work of Ray Pahl and Howard Newby to question the assumptions of Tönnies' social systems.[20] Pahl was himself critical of the "vulgar Tönniesism" which underpinned the view of the country, and attempted to show how the rural space was open to the same socio-economic processes as the urban space, particularly the divisions of class.[21] He examined the implications of urban to rural migration, and the middle class consumption of the countryside, acknowledging its increasing use as a site of leisure. He concluded that interests may collide within the rural space, but this is not due to an inherent difference in the way rural and urban subjects see and relate to each other, but because it is overwhelmingly the middle class that has the social access and mobility in rural-urban social interactions.[22] Pahl (followed by Newby) introduced the idea that the rural space is governed by consumption, and this assumption has underpinned most recent studies which focus upon who has the freedom to use and define the countryside, and who is trapped within, and excluded from it.[23]

These new studies have coincided with changing attitudes towards the countryside, and farming in particular. Long held preconceptions have been tested by debates over issues

---

[19] Rural gemeinschaft has, after all been the source of comedic or sinister portrayals (precisely focussing upon strength of family, place loyalty and unquestioning deferral to the social order), from Stella Gibbons' novel *Cold Comfort Farm* (1932), and *The Wicker Man* to *The League of Gentlemen*. *The Wicker Man* (director, Robin Hardy, 1973) has even provided the common cliché for sinister rural community.
[20] Hillyard, op cit, p.39
[21] Pahl, R.E, "The Rural-Urban Continuum", in Pahl, R.E (Ed), *Readings in Urban Sociology* (Oxford: Pergamon, 1968), p.265, cited in ibid, p.20
[22] Hillyard, ibid, p.20-22
[23] Such recent studies include, Little, J & Austin, P, "Women and the Rural Idyll", in *Journal of Rural Studies, No.12*, (1996), p.101-111, Cloke, P & Thrift, Intra-Class Conflict in Rural Areas", in *Journal of Rural Studies, Vol.3, No.4* (1987), p.321-333, Cloke, p (Ed) *Country Visions*, op cit, and Marsden, T, "New Rural Territories: Regulating the Differentiated Rural Space", in *Journal of Rural Studies, Vol.14, No.1* (Jan 1998), p.107-117

such as fox-hunting, and concerns over food safety and how produce is grown and transported. The Bovine Spongiform Encephalitis (BSE) crisis that began in the late 1980s damaged the associations between the rural and purity and health, and coincided with highly visible and divisive protests over live animal transport. Nevertheless, the rural myth has remained remarkably resilient. It is after all, embedded in our cultural education. From childhood the idea of the rural idyll is implanted in children's literature, reinforced through the "green literature" of the classics in school education, and recycled thereon in popular culture.[24]

Rural Fictions

While documentary may have skirted a critical engagement with the realities of rural life, it has focussed on the way the myth of the countryside is consumed.[25] Photographers from Tony Ray-Jones to Paul Reas, John Kippin and Martin Parr, to Simon Roberts have drawn our attention to the rural fictions we willingly indulge in (Figures 1 and 2). Other artists have examined how far access to the idealised countryside is dependent upon gender and ethnicity. For instance, Ingrid Pollard draws attention to the incompatibility of the rural and British black identity, particularly in regard to the Lake District).

These photographers highlight that this is not innocent consumption. Contemporary consumers of the countryside are aware that they are consuming recycled myths, rather than reality. They perform as John Urry's post-tourists (and Urry suggest we all consume the imagery of place through the "tourist gaze" whether actively engaged in travel or not), embracing the myth of the rural, while conscious that it is a myth.[26] However this

[24] Even contemporary children's literature is dominated by mythical images of small-scale pastoral farms, anthropomorphised animals, and fashion and technology often redolent of the 1940s. Hillyard, op cit, p.141-146. However some commentators have given other explanations for our dependence upon the rural. Simon Schama suggests that a spiritual connection to the land is hardwired into our human condition; within some evolutionary "meme". Schama, S, *Landscape and Memory* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1996). Yi-Fu Tuan's Structuralist suggestion is that in an increasingly complex postmodernity we view the world in more and more simplified binary oppositions (a Weberian notion of ideal types extended to all social phenomena). Tuan, Y-F, *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes and Values* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1974). Bunce, op cit, p.23

[25] Perhaps Fay Godwin and Jem Southam have examined some of the realities of the rural space, but this tends towards environmental, rather than social concerns. There is still a notable gap in socially engaged rural documentary that does not tend towards the idyllic vision.

[26] Urry, J, *The Tourist Gaze, 2nd Edition* (London: Sage, 2006), p.74 , 90-91

knowledge does not mean that the rural idyll is any less desirable *to*, and predominantly imagined in popular consciousness *for*, an essentially white, middle class British audience. As these images highlight, it may be consumed in more obviously commercialised forms, but the rural still represents tradition, order and timeless social stability (reliant upon traditional class stratifications).

Figure 1: Paul Reas, from *Flogging a Dead Horse*, early 1990s

Figure 2: Simon Roberts, *Fountains Fell, Yorkshire Dales, 3rd August, 2008*, 2008

Martin Phillips, Rob Fish and Jennifer Agg have noted the recycling of such values in television programmes such as *Peak Practice* and *Heartbeat*, in which urban professional heroes have relocated to rural communities.[27] However, while such programmes represent an overwhelmingly white, middle class, and urban point of view, this does not dampen their appeal to viewers from all classes, ethnic backgrounds, or even rural audiences. The rural idyll is not merely a middle class aspiration. Yet it is also consumed in a sophisticated way. Phillips et al drew upon Lacan to suggest that consuming such bucolic fantasies is carried out through an interplay of recognising (and sometimes choosing to ignore) elements to be read as "symbolic", elements that are "imaginary" and elements of the "real". They conclude that,

> "*much of the pleasure that people derive from watching television dramas is their ability to 'play games' with the realism and fictionality of the programme…their*

[27] Phillips, M, Fish, R & Agg, J, "Putting Together Ruralities: Towards a Symbolic Analysis of Rurality in the British Mass Media", in *Journal of Rural Studies, Vol.17* (January, 2001), p.1-27.

ability to construct complex viewing positions so as to be 'simultaneously self implicated in, and self-extricated, from the text".[28]

So consuming the rural idyll at the turn of the millennium is a mixture of indulging in fictions of gemeinschaft while still remaining critically detached from that indulgence.

Cumbria as *the Lake District*

One of those rural spaces is Cumbria, and for many, to think of Cumbria is to think of the Lake District. This is obviously due to the sheer weight of imagery that has been circulated since Lakeland became a destination for travellers in the mid eighteenth century.[29] Yet when Daniel Defoe serialised his visit to what is now Cumbria in the mid 1720s, he was effusive in his descriptions of the industrial Cumberland coast and the wool marketing towns of the Eden Valley. By contrast, the upland parts of Westmorland, the Lake District, were an inaccessible irrelevance; "a country eminent only for being the wildest, most barren and frightful of any that I have passed over in England, or even in Wales".[30] As a London businessman, journalist and traveller, Defoe was interested in the economic variety of the emerging British nation. Writing some three or four decades before the advent of tourism, his view of Lakeland as inconsequential is understandable. Yet in many ways Defoe's description is still quite relevant; most of Cumbria's 450,000 residents live in and around the rural towns of the Eden Valley or the small urban centres along the coast. Still, the vast majority of landscape imagery of Cumbria circulated, through popular culture, the press, art and photography, but specifically through the imagery of tourism (now dominated by the internet) overlooks these areas to focus upon the Lakes.

This recycling of imagery has engendered a "mental map" of Cumbria that masks the real territory.[31] This map is vividly drawn in the centre, the Lake District, as it is constantly

---

[28] Ibid, p.14

[29] Paintings of Lakeland as an attraction (by such artists as William Bellers and Thomas Smith of Derby) begin to be circulated nationally from around the mid 1750s. By 1774 Thomas West had published the first guide book to the Lakes, the comprehensively titled, *A Guide to the Lakes: Dedicated to the Lovers of Landscape Studies and all those who have Visited, or intend to Visit the Lakes in Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire By the Author of the Antiquities of Furness* (London and Kendal, 1778).

[30] Defoe, D, *A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain, 2nd Penguin Edition* (London: Penguin, 1986) (Originally published as a guide book in three volumes, 1724-6), p.550

[31] I am drawing upon the concept of the mental map as coined by Peter Gould and Rodney White to explain the choices people make concerning issues such as migration or occupation change. Gould, P & White, R,

refreshed with imagery, and less detailed around the periphery, as it is updated less often. In fact, maps themselves reflect this "mental map". Cumbria was created in 1974, predominantly from the counties of Westmorland and Cumberland, but had been mapped as "twin" counties from at least the 1570s, and straddling the border between was the Lake District.[32] So the uplands served to unite as much as divide the counties. From the turn of the nineteenth century maps began to be circulated that *specifically focussed* upon the Lakes.[33] This began a process by which the idea of Lakeland became successively prioritised over the idea of the counties, until the present day in which a county map that didn't highlight the Lake District is practically unthinkable.

This has served to eclipse the other landscapes in Cumbria, such as the Borders, the Eden Valley and the coastal industrial and post-industrial ribbon.[34] The priority given to the Lake District *as* Cumbria is most clear in how the industrial landscape has been is edited from the view of the county. Artists and photographers, such as Raymond Moore, Roger Palmer and Jem Southam have been drawn to this landscape precisely because it has been forgotten, and is so incongruous with the perceived image of the county. Southam in particular draws a contrast with this marginal space and the idealised hills and fells that overshadow it in the popular consciousness (Figure 3).

Mental Maps (London: Penguin, 1974). The concept could also be equated to Jean Baudrillard's analogy of the reproduction that effectively "overlays" the real territory, preventing us from seeing reality, only the representation. Baudrillard, J, *Simulacra and Simulation, 2nd Edition* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994), p.1

[32] Particularly, Christopher Saxton's map of Westmorland and Cumberland, published in his *Atlas of England and Wales by Christopher Saxton* (London, 1579). Such maps suggest that it made social and economic sense to join the counties as one entity, but maps of the separate counties did continue to be produced. Cumbria also enveloped parts of Lancashire and North Yorkshire.

[33] An example is Smith's (first name unknown) *Smith's Map of the Lakes*, 1800, and Jonathan Otley's *New Map of the Lakes*, 1818.

[34] Identifying and separating these landscapes reflects how they exist as entities in terms of topography, local administrative boundaries, market centres and hinterlands. However it does simplify what are complex social interactions (and edits variation within those landscapes). In reality, we could say there is only one, or innumerable Cumbrian landscapes, depending upon whether we envisage an interlocking pattern involving all socio-economic interactions, or separate different interactions and features.

Figure 3: Jem Southam, *Dudden Sands and Dunnerholme*, 2007

In 1980, Cleater Moor born artist, Conrad Atkinson produced his photographic montage series *For Wordsworth, For West Cumbria* precisely in order to attack the assumption that the county consists purely of the picturesque landscapes of the Lake District.[35] However, there is even a feeling amongst coastal residents that they are somehow *not of* Cumbria. When students at a Workington college were asked on BBC Radio Cumbria whether they "felt Cumbrian" their responses reiterated Atkinson's sentiments:

> *"I don't know, I feel like Workington is not as Cumbrian as the Lakes, I wouldn't think"*

> *"People on the coast, I think we feel really close. With all the heavy industries and that. I think we're more attached to that side of it than the nice part that's advertised "come to Cumbria to see the Lakes". I don't think it really applies to us. It's full of tourists, full of outsiders. It's full of holiday homes".*[36]

So Cumbria is the Lakes (for those both inside and outside the county). This is not only due to the national demand for images of an idealised Lakeland, but actively promoted from

[35] Cork, R, "Conrad Atkinson; A New Beginning", in Atkinson, C (Ed), *Conrad Atkinson Landescapes* (New York: John Isaacs, 2006), p.17
[36] Students of Lakes College, Dissington, Workington, interviewed on BBC Radio Cumbria, *A Sense of Place, Programme One: "The County with the Hole in the Middle"* (Spring 2002), available at http://www.bbc.co.uk/cumbria/sense_of_place/prog_1.shtml, accessed on 12/01/2008

within, as a way of advancing the county's interests. As Richard Knowles, co-ordinator for the County Council's "Made in Cumbria" initiative, points out, in an age in which regions must compete with each other for investment, the Lakes are a fundamental part of the Cumbrian brand.[37] Similarly branding guidelines outlined by the "Distinctly Cumbrian" campaign advocate using words such as "lake", "fell" and traditional lettering, and suggests that,

> *"Colours like turquoise, blue, green and purple are frequently associated with mountain landscapes and, by association, with the Cumbrian brand. Similarly, broad brush shapes and suggested sky lines can also help on the links to landscape…".*[38]

Just such techniques are used in the promotional material for the Millom brewery Beckstones. While drawing upon the town's iron smelting heritage to emphasise strength and reliability, the dominant iconography is this material is of Lakeland, particularly the rural stone bridge which Malcolm Andrews has identified as most people's archetypal, and idealised symbol of the Lakes experience (Figure 4 and 5).[39]

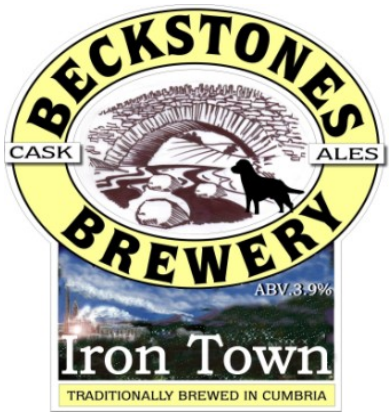


Figure 4: Promotional material for Beckstones Brewery

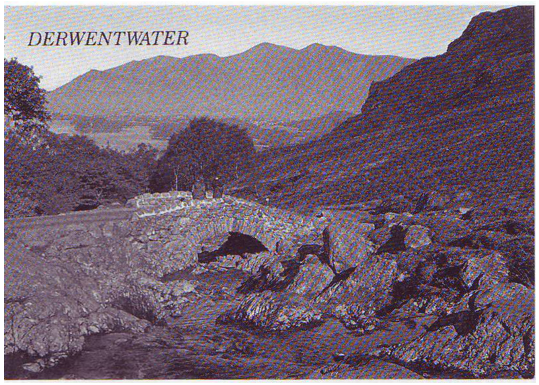


Figure 5: Salmon Cards, *Derwentwater from Ashness Bridge*, date unknown

[37] Richard Knowles interviewed by Caz Graham, "*The County with the Hole in the Middle"*, op cit.
[38] Distinctly Cumbrian website: "Distinctly Cumbrian Branding Guidelines", 2009, available at http://www.distinctlycumbrian.co.uk/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=56&Itemid=65, accessed on 15/05/2009
[39] Andrews, M, *Landscape and Western Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p.219

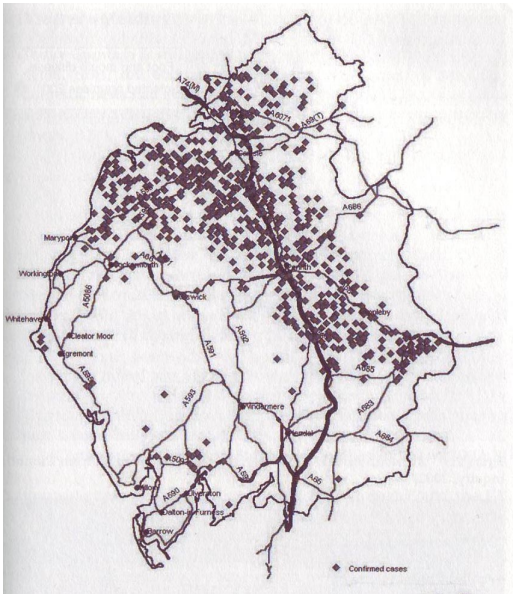
Such marketing prompts connotations of authenticity and traditional, but also relies upon the audience recognising symbols from an already embedded vision of Cumbria, and then perpetuates that vision; it draws upon, and strengthens the idea of Cumbria as the Lakes. The important point here is that the prioritisation of the Lakes has also rendered other rural landscapes invisible. In fact, marketing goes some way to explaining the invisibility of the Eden Valley in the wider perception of Cumbria. In Defoe's account, the Eden Valley is "rich, fruitful…a very agreeable and pleasant country".[40] Indeed, of the entire county, the Eden Valley, stretching from Kirkby Stephen to Carlisle, probably comes closest to the idealised pastoral landscape. The Carlisle born artist Samuel Bough was democratic in his representation of the county in the nineteenth century, painting the Lakes and Eden Valley alike, but generally, as the popularity of the Lake District grew the representation of other areas decreased. Artists and poets came for the Lakes, and as tourism increased Eden became overlooked or a dormitory for travellers. Today this invisibility has been internalised in the Eden Valley's own marketing campaigns (tourist or otherwise). In most contemporary promotional material Eden is merely the "gateway to the Lakes" or even "Eden *in* the Lake District" [italics added].[41]

The large rural area from north Lakeland is almost totally invisible. It barely registers on the national cultural consciousness. Practically the only visual imagery we have of this area is the work of the Cumbrian-born artist Sheila Fell. Remaining in London after attending Saint Martins School of Art in the early 1950s, her nostalgic vision of North Cumbria is of the fields of her youth (Figure 6).[42] This landscape seems to slip into north Lakeland, or the neighbouring Borders. In fact it is perhaps only the Borders that have resisted being subsumed into the Lake District, and managed to retain an identity of their own. Yet it is a landscape that defies strict definition; it is defined in the plural, and both crosses into, but is somehow separate from the *Scottish* Borders. Though it is bisected by two popular tourist

[40] Defoe, op cit, p.551
[41] Promotional logo: http://www.eden.gov.uk/visit-eden-in-the-lake-district/key-events-in-eden/, and : http://www.eden-in-cumbria.co.uk/, accessed 07/05/2009
[42] The only other time that this landscape occasionally makes an appearance is in the novels of Melvyn Bragg (born in Wigton). Inevitably though, Bragg's novels have achieved note because of their depiction of Lakeland.

routes, Hadrian's Wall and the Pennine Way, its cultural identity is not based in landscape imagery, but in a historical figure: the Border Reiver.

Figure 6: Sheila Fell, *Harvest Field in Cumberland*, 1975


A686
A686
A595
A595
A595

Cumbria as Consumption

Though much of the imagery of Foot and Mouth may not have focussed on Lakeland, the perception of Cumbria as the Lake District was hugely influential on how the crisis unfolded. The Government's efforts to control the disease very quickly took into account the need to insulate the tourist industry from the worst effects of the epidemic. Biosecurity measures were implemented with the explicit aim of keeping the Lake District protected from the disease, while simultaneously every effort was made to make the National Park accessible. Yet the perception of what (and who) the Lake District is for, has inflected the perception of Cumbria as a whole, and this perception was also undermined by the imagery of F.M.D.

Lakeland is about consuming the landscape. Since Romanticism became the dominant way to envisage the rural space, the appeal of the Lakes has been based upon the promise of the solitary immersion in nature. It is this promise that underpins representations of the Lakes, from the writing of William Wordsworth, through the innumerable sketches and paintings of the fells, and the many walking guides, up to those of Alfred Wainwright. The Lakes promise the blend of rewarding, healthy, physical adventure with the cultural enrichment of viewing the spectacular landscape. The appeal is therefore, based upon the fulfilment of a constantly recycled experience. Visitors who come to achieve this experience are, in Dean MacCannell's terms "myth-chasing".[44] The myth is the solitary, physical and visual mastery of the landscape, as experienced by former solitary viewers.

As John Urry and Carol Crawshaw have noted, this myth is recycled in contemporary tourist imagery. Unsurprisingly, their interviews with the photographers who produce such imagery revealed that this myth is self-perpetuating. As one photographer suggested, potential visitors "are looking for some of the images that they have had presented to them in the many writings about the Lake District…the tranquillity, nice clear images of the fells and sunny days and the natural environment…open fells with sheep".[45] So photographers reproduce that view; they admitted that they were "selling dreams" and reinforcing long-

[44] MacCannell, D, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Schocken, 1976)
[45] Crawshaw, C & Urry, J, "Tourism and the Photographic Eye", in Rojek, C & Urry J (Eds), *Touring Cultures – Transformations of Travel and Theory* (London: Routledge, 1997), p.187

established images of the Lake District.[46] Much of this imagery reproduces the un-peopled view: the solitary experience of nature. Yet this is clearly far from the reality of the Lakes as a highly regulated space full of commercialised tourist attractions. The fact that Lakeland receives most of Cumbria's sixteen million annual visitors means that to wander "lonely as a cloud", is highly unlikely, as Simon Roberts' photograph of the summit of Scafell Pike suggests (Figure 8).[47]

Figure 8: Simon Roberts, *Scafell Pike Summit, Wasdale Head, Cumbria, 22nd August, 2008*, 2008

Urry and Crawshaw's study also asked subscribers to tourist brochures to choose which images represented their ideal experience of the Lakes. Very few actually chose the un-peopled scene, but chose images showing a handful of tourists: appropriately dressed, young and white (in fact, the same social demographic as the heroes of Phillips, Fish and Agg's popular rural television dramas). They were enjoying the view (in the romantic tourist gaze) or physically "mastering" it. So, for such consumers the ideal Lakeland scene is not necessarily the sublime and empty romantic landscape, but the one tamed by visitors such as themselves.[48]

[46] Ibid, p.188. One photographer even admitted to planting daffodils at Ullswater in the 1970s to link the view to Wordsworth's famous *Daffodils* of 1804.
[47] Cumbria Tourism website, at http://www.cumbriatourism.org/about-us/default.aspx, accessed 07/06/2009
[48] Crawshaw & Urry, op cit, p.192. Urry and Crawshaw's study was performed in 1996 and focussed exclusively upon printed tourist brochures. Yet internet promotion of Cumbria 13 years later reveals very similar imagery.

Crawshaw and Urry's study reveals that much of the imagery of Lakeland (and by extension Cumbria in general) circulated immediately before the outbreak of F.M.D. perpetuates the idea of area as a space of middle class consumption. Though since the formation of the Lake District National Park in 1951 this is now a democratised space open to the nation's citizens, these are visualised as a certain type of citizen, and must act accordingly.[49] In fact, it is precisely the type of space that Ingrid Pollard identifies as potentially exclusive and oppressive. However, the salient point for this thesis is that this imagery consistently edits anyone that uses the Lakes in a different way. Most significantly it edits those that live and work there.

The constant recycling of the mythical idea of Lakeland has had implications for the resident of the Cumbrian landscape. In romantic or picturesque representations they are generally the "peasant", a cipher representing some moral concept, who adds detail to the idealised landscape.[50] As tourism and access increased, the peasant became less visible. This is no doubt due to a very real contraction of farming in Lakeland, but it also represents what those who consume that landscape want from the view. That view includes the idea of pastoral gemeinschaft, but this is now represented through residue in the landscape, rather than actually personified. So in the image of Derwentwater overlooking Ashness Bridge, which Malcolm Andrews identifies as the quintessential Lakeland view (Figure 5), the stone bridge suggests the presence of an older, authentic community, still perhaps actively living in the landscape. Like the imagery of Urry and Crawshaw's study, it contains tourists admiring the view, but it underpinned by concepts of tradition and authenticity.[51]

---

[49] The formation of the National Park echoes Wordsworth's view of Lakeland as "a sort of national property, in which everyman has a right and interest". Yet this urge also comes with the significant qualification "for those with an eye to perceive". Wordsworth, W, *A Guide through the District of the Lakes in the North of England* (1822), cited in Darby, W.J, *Landscape and Identity: Geographies of Nation and Class in England* (Oxford: Berg, 2000), p.88. While working class access has been achieved with the formation of the Cooperative Holidays Association in 1893, and its subsequent popularity with cycling and walking clubs of the Fabian movement, the perception of a certain way to behave, and the idea of cultural improvement remains fundamental to the experience.

[50] This view represents the particular cultural concerns of the time, so the cipher is inflected with those concerns. For Wordsworth it was the corrupting effects of the city, as compared with the innocent purity of the natural life (in essence, gesellschaft and gemeinschaft), as reflected in his 1800 poem *Michael*.

[51] Andrews, op cit, p.219. As Andrews explains, this view *is not* authentic: the bridge has been much reinforced by the National Trust to support the modern road, which, in this image, is hidden from view. It shows a highly conserved and modified view made to seem natural for a tourist market (and thus is reminiscent of the picturesque manicured ruin). The tourist may know and accept this. In consuming the

In these tourist images anything that threatens the romanticism or timelessness of the scene is edited, whether that is vehicles, litter, prominent buildings, the detritus of everyday life, or (as Crawshaw and Urry's photographers also conceded) local people. The pictures of the F.M.D. crisis undermined this view. The landscape was revealed to be full of farmers, living real and complicated lives. It was also revealed to be full of the mess that goes with farming: buildings *not* made of stone, plastic feed buckets, tractors. It was also full of dead animals, and so very obviously challenged the idea of the rural space as a place of health and purity.

However, it is Cumbrian residents who provide the facilities for tourists, they are evidently there. As Crawshaw and Urry suggest, this places the inhabitant in a paradoxical situation. Given the volume of visitors to Cumbria, they are actually in constant view of the tourist. Yet they are also edited from that view (merely presumed to be there). The Cumbrian farmer is expected to correspond to a certain ideal, and has very little power to subvert this perception. Farming in Lakeland thus has everything to do with responsibility, and little to do with agency. Foot and Mouth made it very vivid that while Cumbrians are expected to maintain the tourist appeal of the landscape, they have little freedom to control the land they inhabit.

Cumbria as Network

While the landscape imagery of F.M.D. revealed a different picture of Cumbria, the epidemic itself revealed the relationship between the Lake District and the wider space of the county. The crisis affected the whole county. Its defining feature was the strict isolation of certain areas by quarantine, and those areas subsequent reconnection with the rest of the county when declared free of the disease. Lakeland was one area among many, and quite clearly inter-linked with them. In fact, F.M.D. inevitably revealed Cumbria as a network. The disease immediately raised a conflict between the interests of agriculture, which was

---

imagery of the countryside, they may well recognise the difference between the "fantasy", "symbolic" and "real". Today's post-tourist is well aware of the difference between commercialised attractions *and* their own mythical quest for authentic experience, and is happy to consume both.

best served by quarantining the countryside, and those of tourism which relied on access. F.M.D. made it clear that the Lake District only *makes sense* if it can be accessed.[52]

The centre of Cumbria is part of a global network of tourist consumption (accessed both physically and through the image), but F.M.D. also highlighted that Cumbria was part of agricultural networks; networks that were grossly under-estimated before the crisis. For example, a few weeks into the epidemic, it was realised that sheep transport was the main cause of the spread of the virus. The Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food subsequently attempted to estimate the number of sheep transported across the nation in the three weeks prior to the closure of all livestock markets on 23rd of February 2001. They estimated that this was in the region of 2000 animals. Further enquiries revealed the true extent of the livestock transport network, and suggested that this figure was probably closer to *1.5 million* animals.[53] Fundamental to this network was the livestock market of Longtown in the north of Cumbria. F.M.D. revealed that this small and remote rural town was part of an enormous national and international network. It also highlighted local networks and interactions that have little to do farming or tourism. More people live in the countryside than a century ago, and Cumbria is no exception. One of the county's biggest exports may be its youth, but many of its rural areas are also experiencing a significant inward migration.[54] These "offcomers" may be retired, or be involved in a host of other businesses. The suspension of leisure or education interactions affected all these people; all communal networks were very evidently disrupted by Foot and Mouth.

Landscape imagery is relevant in this process, because it is landscape that has traditionally emphasised that Lakeland is *not linked* with the rest of Cumbria. As Wendy Darby has pointed out, the construction of the Lakes as a place is unusual as it has been almost

---

[52] Consequently, some of the fells were opened as early as the end of April, while parts of North Cumbria experienced access restrictions into 2002.
[53] Cook, J, *The Year of the Pyres: The 2001 Foot and Mouth Epidemic* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 2001), p.18
[54] Howkins, op cit, p.67. "*The county with the hole in the middle"* op cit. Cumbria County Council, "Recent Changes in Cumbria's Population", pdf, 2005, available at http://www.cumbria.gov.uk/eLibrary/Content/Internet/536/673/4145/38953171941.pdf, accessed on 01/09/2009. It also has significant inward migration to Carlisle, however the city is a small semi rural one, more like a large market town, and we may suggest that proximity to the countryside may also be a factor in the its appeal.

exclusively conducted through the aesthetic sphere. The low economic worth highlighted by Defoe, meant that any conflict regarding who had access to Lakeland revolved around the right to *view*, rather than the right to work or live.[55] Consequently, the Lakeland landscape has no pressing political concerns that have to be included within the scene.[56] The landscapes of the Lake District, do not just edit "the peasant", they can edit anything from the outside world (apart from middle class tourists who are allowed across this boundary). The Lakeland landscape is then, portrayed as a self-contained space.

Needless to say, this self-contained space has always referred to what is going on in the wider world. It has after all, been culturally created by consumers of landscape, to reflect whatever concerns them at the time. As Ann Bermingham suggests, the framing of this landscape in the terms of the picturesque, as promoted by William Gilpin and others, reflected a political response to the various global declarations of social egalitarianism epitomised by the French Revolution; the picturesque landscape conveyed a natural hierarchy of social order, and represented a visual possession of the national landscape that was dependent on social position.[57] So the landscape stands as a microcosm of the social relations of wider society, but fundamentally it is space that is a release from those concerns; a space in which they cannot intrude. Lakeland is the epitome of this type of space; it is a "northern arcadia".

By contrast, the landscape imagery of Foot and Mouth *always* referred to the realities beyond the frame. It emphasised that the epidemic was affecting a huge area, and directly commented upon the government policies controlling this space. These pictures depended upon viewing Cumbria as a network.

---

[55] Darby, op cit, p.3-4. Darby contrasts the Lakes with the Peak District, a site used extensively for game, and thus in which access has been contested in the economic sphere. This has led to instances of political conflict such as the mass trespass of Kinder Scout in 1932.

[56] The one notable exception is the images that arose around the time of the railway's extension to Windermere that suggested the threat to the Lakes from increased tourism; for example, James Baker Pyne's, *Windermere from Orrest Head* (undated, probably late 1840 / early 1850s).

[57] Bermingham, A, "System, Order and Abstraction: The Politics of English Landscape Drawing around 1795", in Mitchell, W.J.T (Ed), *Landscape and Power, 2nd Edition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), p.77-101

Farming and Tourism

The English pastoral idyll is underpinned by a vague impression of a countryside shaped by agriculture, yet Britain is not an agricultural economy. As Alun Howkins points out, by 2000 farming contributed less than 1% to our national income, "and there were more people employed in 'entertainment' than farming'".[58] Furthermore, the farming that remains cannot be defined in a singular way. The intensive productivist farming techniques that emerged in the post-war period have given way to a more to post-productivist situation in the last 30 years. We cannot see the contrasting demands upon rural space simply through the opposition outlined by Ray Pahl: middle class migrants disrupting agricultural villages.[59] Instead Terry Marsden has suggested that we think of the contemporary countryside as consisting of *differentiated* spaces, influenced by wider social changes and legislative policy in a number of local and non-local spheres of interest. Farming still has an influence upon the use of this space, but its aim is no longer simply to produce as much food as possible. The domination of the supermarket has led to mass food markets, intensified by recent decreases in state (and European Union) support, but this has gone hand in hand with a realisation of the environmental impact of intensive farming, and consumer demand for quality and organic produce. Alongside this has come rapid restructuring of the rural as a non-agricultural space, through the demands of development, tourism, and the host of other interests such as landfill, toxic disposal, transport or the military.[60] The countryside is thus shaped by a confluence of decisions, conflicts and demands made at national, local and communal level.

Yet Marsden suggests that despite agriculture's decreasing importance to the national economy, it is still important in informing national policy (perhaps reflecting the enduring interest of the decision-making classes in the rural space). The government response to F.M.D. confirms this; while it made concessions to tourism, it resolutely stuck to a policy of quarantine and contiguous cull which protected farming's interests. However, the disease

---

[58] Howkins, op cit, p.67

[59] Often this diversity is welcomed by the original inhabitants of isolated rural communities, well aware of the toll of agricultural contraction on village networks and social health. BBC Radio Cumbria, *A Sense of Place, Series 2, Programme 3: "You're not from round here are you?"* (Spring 2003), available at http://www.bbc.co.uk/cumbria/sense_of_place/index.shtml, accessed 28/02/2008

[60] Marsden, op cit, p.109-113

may well have undermined even Marsden's assumptions about Cumbria. In 1998, he identified the county as a *clientelistic* space: dominated by farming but highly dependent upon state subsidy, in which prominent concerns are rural unemployment and community welfare. Yet even if we temporarily ignore other demands upon Cumbria and just focus upon the conflict between farming and tourism, F.M.D. immediately revealed a large part of the county (i.e. Lakeland) as a *preserved* space, an attractive area dominated by the interests of anti-development, preservation, leisure and access.[61]

In fact, there is not a simple division between the interests of farming and tourism. The tourist industry is well aware of the benefits of agriculture on public perceptions of the countryside, and many farmers have long been involved in tourist activities (farm shops, bed and breakfast accommodation, etc.) as agriculture becomes an increasingly difficult way of life. Farming across the county is diverse, it ranges from intensive dairy herds owned by large organisations, to micro-holdings acting as tourist attractions, and producing for highly localised markets. Rather than *post*-productivist, the latter could be seen as *pre*-productivist. It may include other diversified practices such as producing bio fuel, or planning wind-farms. So farming is multi-functional, and links into a vast range of networks, local, national, bureaucratic, and social.[62] F.M.D. brought such diversity to light. Mirroring Liz Wells's suggestion at the start of this chapter, one "lessons to be learned" report proposed that,

> *"The F.M.D. crisis seemed to challenge dominant representations of the countryside and its functions by illuminating underlying rural realities that*

[61] Marsden's other classifications are *Contested*: areas with less specific environmental value than preserved areas, in which the interests of farming dominate but are increasingly contested by ex-urban migration (e.g. parts of Devon), and *paternalistic* areas, still dominated by the agricultural interests of large private estates (e.g. Lincolnshire). Ibid, p.108. We may concede that public subsidy (either national or European) has been fundamental to the survival of farmers in Cumbria, and we may see the large area of farmed land owned by the National Trust, as to some extent publicly subsidised. Nonetheless, it is clearly an area which is highly influenced, if not dominated by *preservationist* interests. F.M.D. made this immediately apparent.

[62] See Wilson, Geoffrey, *Multifunctional Agriculture: A Transition Theory Perspective* (Wallingford, Oxon: Commonwealth Agricultural Bureaux International, 2007). Wilson suggests that we cannot see farming simply as a transition model from productivist to post-productivist practices, and that multi-functional farming, embracing the revolutionary and very traditional continues to exist across the rural environment.

normally remain hidden or implicit…in doing so it laid bare a host of connections (local interdependencies and long-distance linkages between localities)".[63]

Conclusion: Image and Reality

Foot and Mouth brought a number of realities to light, and uprooted a number of embedded assumptions about the rural space. In Cumbria, many of these assumptions stem from the way that the imagery of the Lake District has served to mask the other rural areas of the county. Appropriately then, many of these assumptions were unmasked by landscape imagery. The landscapes of F.M.D. revealed those areas rendered invisible by over 250 years of Lakeland tourist imagery. It revealed that the rural space was inhabited, by real people facing an enormous challenge. It also fundamentally undermined the relationship between the rural and health and purity. These revelations, as Liz Wells suggests, may have finally pricked the bubble of "pastoral idealism". They certainly undermined the commonly held vision of the "pastoral". However, Foot and Mouth may also have revealed the extent of this "idealism". The crisis exposed that an issue involving farming did not just affect farming, and that agriculture is not an isolated process in the countryside. In fact it undermined the whole assumption that we can separate certain practices into the rural or the urban realm. Cumbria was shown as a node in a complex web of networks of consumption and bureaucracy. This realisation may have fundamentally undermined how we think of the pastoral. It certainly revealed farming's diminished status in the rural economy. As one commentator put it,

"*This is the last time farming can get the British government to shut down the countryside for its own sake. Next time foot-and-mouth arrives the economic weight of farming will be too slight. Tourism…will be more valuable to country dwellers*".[64]

---

[63] Donaldson, A, Lee, R, Ward, N and Wilkinson, K, "Foot and Mouth – Five Years On: The Legacy of the 2001 Foot and Mouth Disease Crisis for Farming and the British Countryside", *Centre for Rural Economy Discussion Paper Series, No.6* (February 2006), p.4, cited in Hillyard, op cit, p.78

[64] *Wall Street Journal* (20/03/2001), cited in Howkins, A, *The Death of Rural England: A Social History of the Countryside since 1900* (London: Routledge, 2003), p.234

CHAPTER THREE

Broadcasting the Foot and Mouth Epidemic: Landscape Imagery in the Press

> "*A peasant becomes fond of his pig and is glad to salt away its pork. What is significant, and is so difficult for the urban stranger to understand, is that the two statements in that sentence are connected by an* ***and*** *and not by a* ***but***".[1]

On the 19th of February 2001 a case of Foot and Mouth Disease was suspected in an Essex abattoir. Within days, the disease was identified in herds and flocks across the country, probably spread by livestock transport over the preceding few weeks. The press responded en masse. F.M.D. was catapulted into the headlines, and local, national and international reporters and press crews swarmed into quiet rural villages and towns in Cumbria, Devon and Wales, the worst affected areas. The crisis saturated news coverage for the subsequent months; as *The Guardian* itself suggested at the end of March 2001,

> *"[o]nly wars and general elections tend to dominate for a full month. Now foot and mouth has come along to tear up the rulebook. Well into its fifth week, it continues to dominate the headlines, but also, more deeply, the national mood"*.[2]

As the virus continued to spread, an official policy of contiguous cull was imposed in mid March, and as it was increasingly desperately implemented, larger and larger numbers of animals were destroyed, and disposed of in pits or on pyres. Cumbria bore the brunt of the outbreak, and at the UK's largest disposal site, Great Orton airfield near Carlisle, 18,000 animals a day were destroyed at the height of the epidemic.[3] Predominantly though, slaughter and disposal happened on farms, *within* the landscape. Consequently, landscape imagery was an essential vehicle for communicating the crisis. Images of carcasses, bio-security road blocks, and smoke drifting across otherwise serene landscapes became stock images in newspaper and television reports. The dramatic and sublime picture of the disposal pyre became the iconic image of the epidemic. As one commentator suggested, the

---

[1] Berger, J, *Why Look at Animals?* (London: Penguin, 2009), p.16
[2] *The Guardian Unlimited* (27/03/2001), cited in Nerlich, B, Hamilton, C.A, & Rowe, V, "Conceptualising Foot and Mouth Disease: The Socio-Cultural Role of Metaphors, Frames and Narratives", published at *metaphorik.de* (02/2002), p.92 – http://www.metaphorik.de/02nerlich.htm, accessed on 02/06/2008
[3] Convery, I, Bailey, C, Mort, M, & Baxter, J, "Death in the Wrong Place? Emotional Geographies of the UK 2001 Foot and Mouth Disease Epidemic", in *The Journal of Rural Studies, No.21* (2005), p.104

image of "Cumbria with four legs sticking up in the air with a bit of fire in the background" became visual shorthand for Foot and Mouth.[4]

Landscape imagery was fundamental to transmitting the idea of crisis, but this is not to say it necessarily transmitted a definitive message of *communal trauma*. Inevitably, these landscapes were edited and presented to emphasise the drama of the event, but ultimately their meaning depended on the words surrounding them: text, voiceover, or editorial given by "talking heads".[5] Jeffrey Alexander suggests that four questions must be addressed for the successful cultural construction of trauma: the nature of the pain (i.e. what actually happened, and why it was traumatic); who suffered that pain; the relation of that victim to the wider audience (i.e. why the audience should invest intellectual or emotional energy in that pain); and who or what is responsible.[6] This chapter assesses how word and image came together in the press coverage of Foot and Mouth in Cumbria, and whether it provided coherent answers to those questions.

The press addressed all of them to some extent. They outlined which communities were infected, and identified some of the hardships being faced, both by farming and tourist businesses (though the landscape images they circulated also directly contributed to the fall in tourist numbers). They related the crisis in farming to the wider economy and population. They also relayed many opinions about who was to blame. Yet while these seem to correspond to Alexander's criteria, the result was not a uniform message of trauma, but ambiguity. This is understandable. News deliverers have their own political agendas. They also have perceived responsibilities, which influence coverage. National broadcasters, predominantly based in London, and catering for an audience which is assumed to be

---

[4] Breakwell, G, *Report to DEFRA: Public Perceptions Concerning Animal Vaccination: A Case Study of Foot and Mouth Disease*, cited in Döring, M & Nerlich, B, "From Mayhem to Meaning", in Döring, M & Nerlich, B, *The Social and Cultural Impact of Foot-and Mouth Disease in the UK in 2001: Experiences and Analyses* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 2009), p.7

[5] As David Levi Strauss notes, the image thus "proves" the suggestions of the text, and the text "frames" the image; landscapes appear to act as evidence. Yet they do not actually constitute *evidence* in any strict sense. Editorial choices all stand between the scene that actually stood before the journalist or photographer, and the reproduction. Levi Strauss, D, *Between the Eyes: Essays on Photography and Politics* (New York: Aperture, 2003), p.30

[6] Alexander, J, "Toward a Theory of Cultural Trauma", Alexander et al (Eds), *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), p.13-15

urban, tailor information accordingly, *even when they address rural issues*.[7] They are also aware of the competitive nature of the twenty four hour "rolling news" culture. Alternatively, local news organisations may prioritise community service, neighbourhood representation, or even a pastoral role. This chapter examines how this differing emphasis inflected the idea that Foot and Mouth constituted a traumatic event.

The landscape imagery though, remained essentially the same, whether shown in a small Cumbrian newspaper, or on ITN News (Figures 1 and 2). Ultimately, the image of Foot and Mouth that has endured is of "Cumbria with four legs sticking up in the air". This chapter concludes by proposing that while this image may not give much detail about the specifics of traumatic experience, it remains an incongruous and disorientating one, and this may actually make it an effective vehicle for transmitting the inexplicable nature of trauma.

Figure 1: Loftus Brown, untitled F.M.D. image, 2001, *The Cumberland News*

Figure 2: Still from ITN News report on 27.03.01: The livestock disposal pyre at Heddon-on-the-Wall, Northumberland

Nevertheless, the words surrounding such imagery remained ambiguous, and were therefore met with ambivalence. The casualty of this incoherence was an understanding of how Foot and Mouth constituted trauma. The human consequences of the crisis tended to be framed in terms of financial loss. That a disease affecting animals could have other traumatic effects on human communities was barely investigated. In Alexander's terms, the press did not adequately transmit "the nature of the pain".

[7] Indeed Michael Schudson points out that contemporary news is always urban based; its eye favours the city, governance and institutional structures, and from there its attention diminishes concentrically, even in cases for which the audience for that news is predominantly rural. Schudson, M, *The Sociology of News* (New York: Norton, 2003), p.191

This is not surprising. From an outside viewpoint, the devastation to farming was clear, but so was the financial compensation system set up to protect it from the effects of F.M.D. One could also suggest that ultimately much of the livestock was destined for the abattoir anyway. Cristina Odone, writing in *The Observer* in early March 2001, epitomised the urban reporter's reaction to the crisis, attacking both farmers, and the "Walt Disney sentimentality" towards animals by "urban dwellers whose encounters with the animal kingdom are limited to a squirrel in the park or a fat pigeon in the square". She explained to her readers that "farmers are matter of fact about killing off their animals if they don't weigh enough to bring in a healthy profit…when you see livestock as your livelihood you don't give a toss about their quality of life".[8] Odone was, no doubt, voicing widely held opinions about contemporary agriculture, based upon a wealth of negative portrayals of British farming as immoral, a threat to health, and either ruthlessly pursuing huge profit, or conversely, hopelessly dependent upon state subsidy. Opinions that reveal a desire for an idealised countryside, and a detachment and mistrust of it: Robin Kelsey's "fantasy of not belonging" at the turn of the millennium.[9]

Yet Foot and Mouth was traumatic for farmers. Maggie Mort, Ian Convery, Cathy Bailey and Josephine Baxter suggest that the seeming contradiction between breeding and slaughter are held in balance by the ordered cycle of husbandry.[10] Livestock farming involves a complex and contradictory relationship between human and animal, in which farmers can show pride, respect and emotion towards their stock, yet still accept slaughter as an inevitable outcome of that relationship. This is because the different stages of breeding, nurturing and slaughter are clearly defined in an established "emotional geography". Foot and Mouth ruptured that order; slaughter took place not in the abattoir, but in the fields or sheds in which the animals lived. Also, farmers do not normally slaughter whole flocks or herds at once. The flock constitutes generations of animals that

[8] Odone, C, "A cow is just a cow", in *The Observer* (04/03/2001), reproduced at http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2001/mar/04/footandmouth.comment, accessed 12/10/2009
[9] Kelsey, R, "Landscape as not Belonging", in Ziady DeLue, R and Elkins, J (Eds), *Landscape Theory* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008), p.203-213
[10] Researchers at Lancaster University and the University of Central Lancashire, Preston.

form a genealogical entity, of which the current animals are only a part. To destroy whole flocks is to destroy a lineage, which may have been built up over generations of farmers. F.M.D. resulted in a break in the temporal and spatial order, compounded by the sheer scale of the slaughter. The epidemic constituted a potentially traumatic combination of three ruptures to normality: death in the wrong place; death at the wrong time; and death on the wrong scale.[11]

However, Foot and Mouth was not just traumatic for farmers, it affected the relationship between space, place and landscape for whole communities. Mort et al divided the potentially traumatic experiences of F.M.D. into four major themes. The first is the idea that those living in Cumbria suffered fundamental changes in *lifescape*: a "disturbed relation between health and place; the changed significance of everyday places and spaces previously taken for granted in respondents' lives".[12] This may have been due to the enforced isolation of biosecurity, or the silence of the countryside without livestock. The second theme includes more obviously upsetting experiences: the grief, distress and horror engendered by personal loss of livelihood, or the continual and lasting sights and sounds of death and destruction. The third group of experiences concerned a loss of trust in governance: the feeling of chaos as official advice was contradictory, inadequate or failed to tally with real events on the ground. Lastly, there were a set of responses concerned with "knowledge and place". These experiences related to the feeling of being marginalised within one's own locality by government policy: the official disregard towards local knowledge, tradition and cultural heritage, and the disorientating effects of rumour and hearsay.[13] The combination of these experiences fundamentally affected how Cumbrian communities interacted with each other.

Mort et al's conclusions were not published until 2005, and so reporters at the height of the crisis did not have the benefit of their insights. We certainly could not expect most reporters, national or local, to understand the complex emotional geographies of rural

[11] Convery et al, op cit, p.99-109
[12] Mort, M, Convery, I & Bailey, C, "Psychological Effects of the 2001 UK Foot and Mouth Disease Epidemic in a Rural Population: Qualitative Diary Based Study", in *British Medical Journal*, *Vol.331*, (2005), p.1237 available at http://www.bmj.com/cgi/content/full/331/7527/1234, accessed on 02/05/2007
[13] Ibid, p.1235-9

communities. This evidently impacts upon their ability to convey trauma, and consequently there was a notable lack of direct allusion to "trauma" in the coverage of F.M.D. (certainly by national press companies). Nevertheless, the press did broadcast that Foot and Mouth was important, divisive, painful and destructive. They began to outline a message of trauma, even if this was not intentional, comprehensive or totally coherent. They also did so, intensively and continually, over many months, because the F.M.D. crisis was inherently newsworthy.

The Epidemic as News

The 2001 epidemic constituted an ideal press story; it had certain inherent features which made it simple to report, and link to discourses that were already installed in the public consciousness. It was self-evidently news-worthy: an abnormal event with shocking, devastating results that immediately pricked an inherent fear of disease.[14] As a story it was easy, fast and cheap to produce; it did not require much story-building, in terms of research or outlining the historical context of its protagonists. It provided an easily comprehensible narrative; cause and effect were clear, and the desired outcome unambiguous (the disease had to be eradicated). This narrative also expanded continually, as newly infected herds were identified on a daily basis. This expansion also had a geographical frontline for reporters to pursue, and an increasing sense of fear and powerlessness, as the number of cases also grew, seemingly exponentially. In short, the story had great potential to run.

It was also easy to consume; it required little knowledge the wider social significance, or political and medical dilemmas surrounding Foot and Mouth. Although the epidemic brought an inherent conflict between the interests of farming and tourism, in general, the story was one of a fight between human and disease. Such unambiguous narratives provide the ideal press story in a competitive news environment with an easily distracted audience.[15] Yet the F.M.D. story could also be contextually linked with any number of

[14] The contemporary obsessive fear of pathogens is another feature that we could tie to the "fantasy of not belonging". Pathogens are not "natural" but must be eradicated in our urban, rational world.

[15] The majority of newspaper readers, across all income and age groups, spend only 15-30 minutes reading a paper per day (a figure which increases only marginally on Sundays). Newspaper Marketing Agency website, "Chart 21", *N.M.A. Marketplace Charts, November 2007* (powerpoint), available at http://www.nmauk.co.uk/nma/do/live/marketPlaceCharts, accessed on 22/02/2008. Consequently, news

other recent discourses concerning the rural space and agriculture, such as the safety of food production, animal welfare and live animal transport. Indeed commentators such as Anthony Browne and Paul Harris in *The Observer* made such links within the first week of the outbreak, suggesting F.M.D. was a direct result of intensive farming techniques and mass animal transport.[16] There was scope to commandeer opinions about modern farming methods, refresh the story and intensify alarm, without necessarily investigating these links in detail.

So there was also the potential to investigate blame, and pursue effect back to cause. This search for blame initially focussed upon the epicentre of the epidemic, which was quickly identified as Bobby Waugh's pig farm at Heddon-on-the-Wall in Northumberland, and provided an immediate opportunity to link the disease with irresponsible and unclean farming practices.[17] Establishing blame is an integral part of the cultural construction of trauma, but the coverage of F.M.D. was notably ambiguous, rather than unanimous in apportioning responsibility. Over the course of the epidemic, blame was volleyed in every direction; tourists were accused of spreading the disease on boots and car tyres, greedy farmers of intentionally infecting stock for compensation, and even news reporters for descending on infected areas.[18] As the stress of the crisis on rural communities became apparent, the government became the focus of blame. Initially this was for the inefficient logistical response to the slaughter programme, which allowed carcasses to build up in fields, sometimes for weeks. As it became apparent that the livestock and tourist industries were both being decimated by the contiguous cull policy, it was blamed for not entertaining the option of vaccination.

---

stories will tend to the factual or formulaic to grab and keep a reader's attention for this very short time-span. They follow an inverted pyramid structure, with an attention grabbing headline, and a following list of facts, decreasing in importance. Schudson, op cit, p.185. There is a similar pattern in televised news reports, which must provide a concise, self-contained story in a short news segment, often lasting no more than a few minutes.

[16] Browne, A & Harris, P, "How a rural idyll turned into a hotbed of disease: the foot and mouth disaster throws the whole of Britain's farming practices into question", in The Observer (25/02/2001), available at http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2001/feb/25/footandmouth.ruralaffairs1, accessed on 10/10/2009

[17] Waugh's farm was identified as the probable source by the end of the first week of the crisis. Though by framing these practices as unclean and irresponsible coverage also reassured audiences that responsible practices should not threaten food safety.

[18] "Council hits out at film crews", in the *Cumberland & Westmorland Herald* (10/03/2001), reproduced at http://www.cwherald.com/archive/archive/council-hits-out-at-film-crews-20010310257407.htm, accessed on 15/04/2009

Mirroring the investigation of blame were stories of personal misery and loss. There were emotional interviews with farmers, hoteliers and other rural residents: figures such as Deborah Cowin, a Keswick gallery owner, and John and Anne Collier, livery owners from Longtown, who became outspoken champions for those suffering hardship.[19] While these no doubt conveyed suffering, they were limited in suggesting the idea of trauma. Interviews were generally brief, and the human cost of F.M.D. tended to be framed as either financial, or as the loss of a "life's work". There were also more symbolic individual stories, such as that of "Phoenix", the white calf discovered alive beneath a pile of culled carcasses, on the 25th of April. Phoenix dominated press coverage for the following week, becoming a symbol for renewed hope for the future in rural communities and an emblematic weapon in the anti-cull movement.

Figure 3: Jeff Mitchell (Reuters), F.M.D. press image, Cumbria 2001, *The Guardian*

Animal stories make appealing editorial, but as the epidemic hit during the lambing season, landscape could also utilise a wealth of symbolic animal imagery (lambs being readily associated with purity, spring or innocence), to make an immediate contrast with iconic scenes of destruction. Jeff Mitchell's image above emphasises the close relationship between human and animal, but by highlighting the way that live lambs are carried also augurs their imminent demise (Figure 3). It also suggests how the features that made F.M.D. an ideal press story could be conveyed through landscape. Two of those features are worth examination in more detail as they directly pertain to the use of landscape as a

[19] See "Deborah Cowin" and John Collier" entries in Graham, C (Ed), *Foot and Mouth, Heart and Soul: A Collection of Personal Accounts of the Foot and Mouth Outbreak in Cumbria 2001* (Carlisle: Small Sister / BBC Radio Cumbria, 2001), p.141-144, 149-152

vehicle for the message of trauma: the use of the sublime; and the opportunity to draw metaphorical analogies.

The Sublime

Ideas of the sublime are implicit in the disease epidemic. In Emmanuel Kant's terms, the epidemic is something that can be "apprehended" (it can be recognised), but not immediately "comprehended" (it cannot be totally understood).[20] The viral disease is beyond normal vision, apparently formless, and potentially limitless. Yet it has also been microscopically examined and defined. For Kant, the sublime phenomenon encapsulates not only this idea of limitlessness, but also a simultaneous "super-added thought of its totality".[21] It provokes an oscillation between being able, and unable, to conceive the limits of a phenomenon. Disease appears formless, *and* science has revealed its form. Yet the language of science also obscures comprehension. For a lay audience, the representation of F.M.D. consistently oscillated between the notions of formlessness and limitlessness, and scientific reason.

For Edmund Burke the sublime provoked a similar oscillation of feeling, this time between fear and wonder. The sublime is dread from a distance; as long as life is not immediately threatened, scenes of destruction can produce "a sort of delightful horror; a sort of tranquillity tinged with terror".[22] For many viewing F.M.D. through press imagery, destruction was both geographically distant (Cumbria, Devon), and conceptually distant: the countryside. Yet F.M.D. was also close to home. As Browne and Harris's comments in *The Observer* demonstrate, it immediately triggered concerns over modern methods of farming, livestock transport and the safety of food. So the crisis also tapped into sublime feelings stemming from the contemporary angst about a perceived lack of control over an increasingly technologically, bureaucratically and spatially complex and confusing environment. This was accentuated by confusion about what might have caused the outbreak, and where the virus might have come from. F.M.D. drew attention to this

[20] Kant, E, *Critique of Judgement*, translated by James Meredith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973) [Originally 1790], p.99
[21] Kant, p.90
[22] Burke, E, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1958) [originally 1757], p.136

complexity, as it emphasised the global nature of food markets. The "disease fee" status of countries is stringently regulated by the World Organisation for Animal Health, and is continually under threat from sloppy or illegal import procedures. Disease, obscure international bureaucracy and science are interwoven. Yet science was also seen as complicit in its spread, through modern intensive farming methods. So F.M.D mixes the opacity and logic of science, and the vast and complex nature of international markets with the everyday act of simply buying food.

The landscapes of "Cumbria with four legs sticking up in the air" are also intrinsically sublime: they are representations of death. Stuart Franklin's widely circulated photograph of a livestock pyre in the Eden Valley intensifies the sublime effect by being cropped so that the entire landscape becomes a pyre of burning carcasses (Figure 4).[23]. Smoke adds a notion of formlessness and cloying pollution and out of this smoke emerges the semi-visible arm of an earth moving vehicle. The vehicle hovers between super-human mechanical power and formlessness, but also, with its descending toothed bucket, gives an almost physical sensation of digging and tearing into the animals beneath.

Figure 4: Stuart Franklin, press image of Eden Valley, Cumbria, March 2001 (Magnum)

Figure 5: Jeff Mitchell, press image of the Foot and Mouth epidemic in Cumbria 2001 (Reuters)

Similarly in Jeff Mitchell's image (Figure 5) the pyre stretches right across the frame, and by implication, the landscape (though in the background rather than foreground). It also threatens to creep out towards the food transport truck in the foreground, significantly,

[23] Franklin's images of Cumbria were picked up by the BBC and became stock images, appearing repeatedly on their website during, and after the crisis.

emblazoned with the name of the supermarket company Safeway. Irony and the sublime mix; the almost incomprehensible contemporary food production network is threatened by the incomprehensible disease stretching across the landscape. Yet that food network, the supposedly "safe way" of delivering produce from field to plate, is also complicit in the spread of the disease. Such imagery of pyres filling the landscape illustrated press editorial suggesting the vastness and awesome power of both the disease and the methods used to control it. This was backed up with figures, maps and graphics. The potentially limitless disease was shown to cross perceived totalities: county and national boundaries. Ultimately even the terrestrial boundary was crossed. Emphasis on the sublime vastness of F.M.D. was taken to its limit when, on the 2nd of May *The Mirror* reported that the pyre at Penrith could be seen from space.[24]

Jean-François Lyotard draws upon both Kant and Burke, but his sublime is not one that tests the powers of reason, as it does for Kant. For Lyotard the sublime reveals, and is a result of the incongruity between imagination and reason. The sublime is an indication of the "differend": the point at which these two ways of approaching the world reveal themselves as fundamentally incompatible.[25] The sublime phenomenon may be located in the physical world, but language cannot communicate any commonly shared consensus on its meaning: it is unspeakable. Instead it acts as a physically experienced *event* which leaves the viewer with agitation and momentary amnesia. Lyotard's sublime is an appropriate framework for events communicated through press spectacle. In this sphere, destruction is first and foremost an aesthetic phenomenon, rather than something to be rationally mapped and understood.[26] There may be parallels here with the experience of Foot and Mouth, particularly as it was consumed as a *visual* event through spectacular imagery. The virus epidemic in this context is indeed something that hovers between reason and the imagination. It is defined by science, but the fear of its spread and effects achieves its power through imagination. In fact, when consumed as spectacle, we do not want it to be

[24] *The Mirror* 02/05/01, cited at www.warmwell.com, available at http://www.warmwell.com/warmwellarchive.html, accessed 07/07/2009
[25] Lyotard, J-F, *Lessons on the Analytic of the Sublime* trans. Elizabeth Rottenberg (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), p.123
[26] Thompson, J, "The Sublime Moment: The Rise of the 'Critical Watchman'", in Exhibition catalogue, Hayward Gallery, *Sublime: The Darkness and the Light* (London: South Bank Centre, 1999), p.26-7

reasoned away, we want it to be limitless and almost super-natural. The image of the pyre is aestheticised destruction, constantly repeated as a vividly shocking, but instantly forgotten event, which defies a definitive explanation to give it meaning. As such it took its place among the countless other spectacles that form the consistent diet for news viewers. News producers were thus able to utilise an established library of commonly understood references and linguistic and visual metaphors.

Military Metaphors

Brigitte Nerlich, Craig Hamilton and Victoria Rowe found that there were a distinct group of linguistic metaphors and symbolic narratives that were consistently and repeatedly used in press coverage.[27] Most prevalent were analogies of war (using expressions such as "frontline" or "marching"), or crime ("innocent victims" or "stay of execution"), with connotations of heroes, perpetrators and suspects.[28] There were also many references to natural forces, such as storms or wild-fire, medieval plague (with associated ideas of purification by fire), or supernatural or spectral phenomena, as well a range of direct references to historic events easily linked to such metaphors, such as Bosnia, Vietnam, the "killing fields", and controversially, the Holocaust.

Such metaphors inevitably inflect the landscapes that accompany them. Photographs such as Murdo McLeod's, of the carcass pyre at Heddon-on-the-Wall (Figure 6), may become reminiscent of the pictures of distant fires on the skylines of combat zones, that we have become so used to since Desert Storm, especially when taken from distance (as much imagery was, due to biosecurity restrictions).[29] These analogies become more vivid when such imagery is recycled in the television "rolling news" format, accompanied by the "ticker tape" graphic of startling headlines: one of the legacies of the Gulf conflicts.

---

[27] Nerlich et al, op cit, p.90-108. They studied the coverage of the crisis in over 170 articles from *The Guardian* newspaper, over the first five months of the crisis (though as they noted *consistently recurring* metaphors and quotations, precise citations of the individual stories and issues are not given). Cursory research showed that such linguistic imagery was even more prevalent in the *Daily Mail* and *The Times*. Ibid, p.97

[28] Metaphors of combat sports ("left reeling"), or of a race or journey ("turned a corner") were also common.

[29] McLeod's image is not of Cumbria, but Northumberland. However, it was one of the first to show carcass pyres in *The Guardian* and is now one of the ten displayed on its online "Foot and Mouth gallery", at http://www.guardian.co.uk/gall/0,8542,443237,00.html.

Figure 6: Murdo McLeod, Pig Pyre, Heddon on the Wall, *The Guardian*

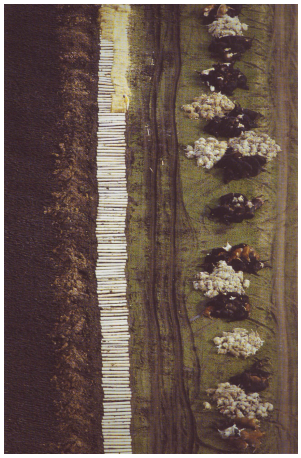


Figure 7: Jeff Mitchell press image of the Foot and Mouth epidemic in Cumbria 2001 (Reuters)

As we gradually make sense of Jeff Mitchell's semi-abstract photograph, we realise that the indistinct shapes are actually heaps of carcasses awaiting disposal (Figure 7). Taken from the air it has connotations of military reconnaissance, or the uncovering of secret atrocities in war torn regions such as the Balkans, and so corresponds to those metaphorical references to the "killing fields" or even the Holocaust. That we have to visually unravel Mitchell's shot may actually make it a more effective vehicle for conveying trauma than more dramatic or repellent imagery. Jill Bennett suggests that the shocking image that forces us to recoil may prompt a temporary revulsion, but images that force us to recoil *and* engender longer, intellectual engagement may potentially give rise to empathy.[30]

Of course, all stories are told by drawing upon culturally embedded templates of conflict, villains and victims. However, the significant conclusion of Nerlich et al's study is that the use of military metaphors effectively served to deflate any critical backlash against the government's contiguous cull policy, by uniting government rhetoric, press stories, and thus public opinion in a war against a foe which must be eradicated at all costs. They suggest that such imagery had very close similarities to the "fairy tale" narrative used to

[30] Bennett, J, *Empathic Vision: Affect, Trauma and Contemporary Art* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005), p.62-5

justify the first Gulf War as a "just" one.[31] Such a link is reiterated in the diary account of an emergency worker involved in the cull, who recalled, "I can remember standing at night looking down the valley and it looked like a scene I had seen from Kuwait during the Gulf War with all the pyres burning…it was really surreal".[32] Whether this link was engendered by the press coverage of F.M.D. or not, it seems that the analogies between televised combat imagery and the scenes of crisis in Cumbria came easily. Such analogies were literalised when the army was mobilised to take over the disposal of animal carcasses from M.A.F.F on March the 20th.[33] Yet war metaphors may also have helped Foot and Mouth to be seen as communal trauma. They raised those emergency workers tackling the outbreak to the level of combatants, and those people suffering its effects to civilians in a war zone. In contemporary culture it is now assumed that such groups will *inevitably* suffer the effects of trauma.[34]

Televising the Crisis

The features outlined above were prominent in the television coverage of the crisis. Within news bulletins, short "packages" generally included one or more interviews, and / or shots of significant events of the day (such as Tony Blair's trip to promote rural tourism in York on the 6th of April).[35] The use of interview did give the television reports the potential for conveying human suffering (and thus trauma), and indeed as the epidemic progressed these became increasingly emotional. However, landscape imagery was integral to the visual

---

[31] Nerlich et al, op cit, p.96-8. Nerlich et al are drawing upon the idea that fairy tale metaphors were used to justify the Gulf War, as forwarded by George Lakoff. Lakoff, G, "The Metaphor System used to Justify War in The Gulf" (1992), available at http://www.philospophy.uoregan.edu/metaphor/lakoff-l.htm. As Abigail Woods has pointed out, government rhetoric during both the 1951-2 and 1967-8 outbreaks also curtailed any dissent towards its slaughter policy. It did so by promoting the policy as rational and modern. In this it directly mobilized a nationalistic sentiment: culling may be hard, but effective compared to the easy, inefficient "European way" of vaccination. Woods, A, "The historical roots of FMD control in Britain, 1839-2001", in Dörling & Nerlich, op cit, p.26-31

[32] DEFRA worker's diary entry, quoted in Convery et al, op cit, p.103

[33] The mobilisation of the army may also have deflected criticism of the government symbolically as well as practically, by engendering a certain wartime resolve to "sit tight, keep calm and see it out".

[34] This is a phenomenon highlighted in Jarzombek, M, "The Post-traumatic Turn and the Art of Walid Ra'ad and Krzysztof Wodiczko: From theory to Trope and Beyond", in Saltzman, L and Rosenberg, E (Eds), *Trauma and Visuality in Modernity* (Hanover, New Hampshire: Dartmouth College Press, 2006), p.249-271

[35] This discussion is based upon a study of reports from ITN news from February to April 2001, available at http://www.itnsource.com/compilations/sciencenatureandenvironment/environment/?lr=S04080701, accessed on 10-30/12/2009. These news "packages" from reporters in the field vary from less than a minute to over three minutes, and add context to the statistics and the facts of the day's developments outlined in the studio.

content and symbolic context of these packages, and unsurprisingly, many began with scenes of pyres or other disposal sites, taken from the air, or widening out from close up to long shot to emphasise the scale of destruction (Figure 8 F, G & H). Another staple feature of these reports was the contrast of life and death. Most included images of *live* animals in the fields (often lambs), but inevitably, these were contrasted with images of dead livestock (again, in the fields), or quite graphic scenes of culling (Figure 8 A, C & D).[36] So the archetypal image of the healthy landscape (combined with considerable sentimental appeal) was immediately undermined. In between, generic and un-named landscapes showing closed tracks or the smoke of pyres provided general visual corroboration of the report narrative.

However, the ITN News report covering the first case of F.M.D. within the Lake District National Park, on the 25th of March, notably deviated from this formula. There are no scenes of dead stock, destruction or pyres. Instead we get a report upon the local Herdwick sheep and a brief explanation of the heft: the way in which flocks seem to pass on an attachment to a certain area of fell between generations. Hefted sheep are symbolic, and a physical embodiment of tradition and continuity in Cumbria: precisely the continuity endangered by F.M.D. (a fact noted in the press; David Ward talked of Herdwick flocks in Lakeland's remote Dudden Valley stretching back to at least the twelfth century, possibly thousands of years in *The Guardian* of the 27th of March).[37]

The ITN report was specifically about potential threat to the *landscape*; a landscape for visual consumption rather than one of livestock and livelihoods. There were shots of archetypal Lakeland scenes (Figure 8 E), one of which was taken from a low angle (subtly moving away from objective, to artistic camerawork), and even a lingering close up on a bunch of daffodils. The report contained an interview with Oliver Maurice of the National Trust, in which the emphasis was firmly upon the landscape, and how F.M.D. may force tenant farmers to leave farming which would consequently alter that landscape as a tourist

[36] As the spring of 2001 was cold, but unusually bright and dry, both live and dead animals were shown in bright sunlight, providing a visual contrast between the idyllic landscape and destruction.
[37] Ward, D, "Lakeland breed faces extinction", in *The Guardian* (27.03.2001), reproduced at http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2001/mar/27/footandmouth.davidward, accessed on 14/12/2009

attraction. Perhaps the way that the landscape was idealised in the report reflected a subliminal desire to insulate the notion of the Lakes from the worst scenes of F.M.D.[38] what was definitely highlighted was the conflict between biosecurity and maintaining access: the inherent tension between the interest of farming and that of tourism within Cumbria during the crisis.

A) Report on 23.02.01: Foot and Mouth in Cumbria

B) Report on 16.03.01: the introduction of the contiguous cull policy

C) Report on 20.03.01: unidentified farm near Penrith, Cumbria

D) Report on 22.03.01: culling near Penrith, Cumbria

E) Report on 25.03.01: F.M.D. enters the Lake District National Park

F) Report on 27.03.01: The livestock disposal pyre at Heddon-on-the-Wall

G) Report on 19.04.01: unidentified aerial shot of Cumbrian farm to accompany report on contiguous cull protests

H) Report on 26.04.01: shots of the disposal site at Great Orton Airfield, Carlisle

I) Report on 26.04.01: the end of the cull of healthy animals

Figure 8: Stills from ITN news reports, February to April 2001

[38] There were no large pyres in the Lake District during the crisis, but *generic* scenes of destruction were included in most other reports.

Ambivalence

The crisis was inherently divisive, and so the meaning of Foot and Mouth (who its victims were, and why) evaded definition, and any attempt to provide one was bound to be met with ambivalence. The accepted response to F.M.D. outbreaks in Britain is to establish a biosecurity cordon around infected premises and destroy livestock within it, but it was this policy that led to the trauma experienced in 2001. Biosecurity measures caused isolation, the internalised perception of infectiousness, the splintering of communities, fundamental changes to lifescape, financial hardship, and the loss of people's "life's work". Nevertheless, the contiguous cull was actively supported by the National Farmers Union, and the food production industry. International F.M.D. control measures mean that countries that experience an outbreak are immediately prevented from exporting livestock or its products. The quickest way to regain disease free status, and access to the export market is to destroy any infected stock and re-stock from an uninfected source. Though a ring-fence vaccination policy (whereby infected areas could be circled by a fire-break of vaccinated animals) was increasingly championed by farmers as the disease progressed, this policy entailed continuous testing and longer export restrictions, at a time when profit margins were already low.

Also, in retrospect, the contiguous cull policy was successful. Once implemented efficiently it did eradicate the disease. Yet it also led to the deaths of between six and a half and ten million animals, perhaps 80% of which were actually *free* of infection.[39] It also had differing effects within the farming community. Government compensation did not extent to farmers on "standing" farms: those who retained (and had to keep maintaining) their stock but were prevented from moving or selling it for months. Nor did it help those businesses supporting agriculture. So even within farming there was a wide range of different victims.

There were also those who depended on the appeal of the countryside for their livelihoods. From the very beginning of the crisis, it was apparent that biosecurity cordons, official

[39] Mort et al, op cit, p.1234

warnings to stay away from farmland (imposed with heavy fines) and the presence of pyres and carcasses were in direct opposition to the needs of the other major interest in Cumbria's rural economy, tourism. Foot and Mouth uncovered certain realities about Cumbria as a rural economy, which were relayed in the press. These realities became apparent as the epidemic unfolded, affecting the way it was perceived, and in turn, being changed by the way it progressed.

Rural Realities

The popular perception of Cumbria is based upon an idealised landscape shaped by pastoral agriculture. Even in the view of the cultural geographer Terry Marsden, Cumbria in the late 1990s was a "clientelistic" rural space, open to a number of intersecting economic, social and political interests, but dominated by those of farming, and specifically the policies of agricultural subsidy. The contiguous cull policy was based upon two pre-suppositions that reflect a very similar idea of the rural space: that it is agricultural interests that predominantly govern the structures (economic, political and legislative) influencing that space; and that F.M.D. is a disease that only affects agricultural interests.

Foot and Mouth challenged these assumptions, by highlighting the importance of tourism to the Cumbrian economy. The contiguous cull policy restricted access to the landscape and filled the national perception with negative images of the county, and the devastating effects were immediately apparent. During the worst months of the epidemic, revenue losses for the tourist industry were estimated to be from £125 million to £179 million a week. As Elizabeth Baxter and David Bowen point out, by the end of the crisis, the overall cost to the tourist sector was "between £2.7 and £3.2 billion. *These figures are several times in excess of the estimated loss for the agriculture industry*" [italics in original].[40] Both the press and Government quickly realised the effect of F.M.D on rural tourism, and the scale of that business. By the middle of March the government insisted that the countryside was "open for business", and in Cumbria, some access restrictions to the fells were lifted as early as April, with more on June the 10th and 1st of August (to much media attention).

[40] Baxter, E, & Bowen, D, "Anatomy of Tourism Crisis: Explaining the Effects on Tourism of the UK Foot and Mouth Disease Epidemics of 1967-68 and 2001with Special Reference to Media Portrayal", in *International Journal of Tourism Research, No.6* (2004), p.271

Such Government announcements revealed a change in the official priorities towards the countryside.[41] From April 2001 the Government backed a British Tourist Association (B.T.A.) marketing strategy to counteract the negative impressions of the countryside, and in May 2001, in the midst of the crisis, the government launched the Strategy for Rural Tourism which prioritised the interests of the tourism in rural spaces, agricultural stewardship, and "maintaining an attractive countryside". According to Bowen and Baxter, the overarching message of this strategy was that "rural England is now dependent on tourism".[42]

Yet new cases of infection, biosecurity cordons and culling continued (though the enforced contiguous cull policy was lifted in late April). Some parts of Cumbria retained infected status and experienced movement and access restrictions, until early 2002. A countryside "open for business" did not tally with many people's experience of the crisis, and such pronouncements provoked scepticism and anger. Offence was compounded when, on the 3rd of May, *The Times* relayed that the Prime Minister had even announced the end of the outbreak.[43]

Foot and Mouth, the policy to control it, and inequitable compensation led to highly diverse experiences of the crisis. The press attempted to cover the hardships faced by *all* rural residents, but the sheer range of experiences prevented a unified, coherent message of suffering.[44] It is not surprising then, that we do not get a consistent and coherent message of

[41] Tony Blair's trip to the north of England at the beginning of April reflects this blending of emphasis; on the 5th he visited the Army F.M.D. operations centre in Carlisle, on the 6th he promoted rural tourism to the media in York.

[42] Baxter and Bowen, op cit, p.270. Local government policy also reflected the realities of the rural economy. As Bryony Oates has noted websites are inevitably constructed with target audiences in mind, and the Cumbria County Council F.M.D. information website was predominantly aimed towards tourists. Business advice was also provided, with templates for letters for deferral of taxes, etc. Again this service was aimed at companies providing tourist services, or other businesses, rather than farmers. Oates, B, "Foot and Mouth Disease: Informing the Community?", in *Informing Science Journal*, Vol.6 (2003), p.106-12

[43] *The Times*, 03/05/01, reproduced at http://www.warmwell.com/warmwellarchive.html, accessed on 08/07/2009

[44] Needless to say, news producers conveyed the crisis according to their organisation's political persuasion, and identified victims, causes and the nature of suffering accordingly. Though a generalisation, *The Guardian* raised questions about the implications of modern farming to a left wing urban audience, *The Telegraph* favoured the interests of large farming concerns, and the *Daily Mail* highlighted how the small rural business

trauma. Jeffrey Alexander suggests that the four integral points of the trauma message are "value added", each one contributing to a more convincing message of trauma.[45] This means that they can also be "value diminished": questioning one of the points undermines the others. Of course, the press is a highly disparate body, and were *not attempting* to construct a message of trauma; they were just reporting the news. Overall, although each of Alexander's points was addressed in part, the coverage of this disparate body was too ambiguous to provide a coherent message of trauma.

The Message of Trauma

Ambiguity was immediately apparent in the coverage of the contiguous cull policy. While it was consistently reiterated that it was in the interests of agriculture, and the national economy as a whole to eradicate Foot and Mouth, the cull was also quite clearly shown to cause suffering. In the ITN reports from the first months of the crisis the cull is represented as a necessary evil; an impression corroborated by interviews with officials such as the National Farmers' Union's Phil Owens, vets such as Carlisle's David Black, and even farmers themselves.[46] Yet these reports simultaneously reveal a deep questioning of this policy. There were interviews with farmer Robert Fawcett, and Pat Thompson, who became organisers and focal figures in an expanding anti-cull movement.[47] As the weeks passed, a deepening animosity towards the Ministry, and a growing questioning of how the government had handled the crisis, was revealed across all the national news media.

It is in the portrayal of suffering, Alexander's "nature of the pain", that we get the most ambiguous, but also revealing indications of trauma. Interviews revealed farmers and rural business owners becoming more and more desperate and disorientated as the weeks progressed. Reports focussed on the increased stress and tension due to isolation, financial

---

owner was suffering (both in practical terms, and through the accusations of the other press groups). However, each paper gave out *contradictory* messages, reflecting the confusion, rumour and lack of a united picture of the crisis.

[45] Alexander, op cit, p.13-15

[46] ITN news reports on the 16th, 22nd and 20th of March, 2001, respectively. Farmer Alistair Wannop suggests that the cull is a waste, is taking an emotional toll, and leaving the landscape like a "medieval scene", but also emphasises its necessity. reproduced at http://www.itnsource.com/compilations/sciencenatureandenvironment/environment/?lr=S04080701, accessed on 30/12/2009

[47] ITN news reports on 18th of March and 19th of April, 2001, reproduced at ibid.

strain and constant vigilance for signs of F.M.D.[48] In one ITN report Cumbrian Robert Fawcett suggests he and fellow farmers are "beaten, mentally and physically…it's out of control".[49] By the end of April these interviews suggest the full effects of trauma. One showed a Cumbrian farmer visibly shell-shocked as he recounted the slaughter of his entire herd (see Figure 8 I). In another a farmer descended into uncontrollable sobs, and buried her head into her husband's shoulder as he stood speechless.[50]

Yet although personal suffering was investigated, and terms such as "agony", "despair" and "anger" widely used, the idea of "traumatised" individuals or communities was not explicitly stated. The loss of livestock was vaguely framed as a "waste" of animal life and farmers' hard work, and the overwhelming focus is upon financial hardship.[51] Even in the medical press the mental health consequences of F.M.D. were not investigated.[52] This was despite the fact that mental health charity Mind was warning the government that individuals and communities could be traumatised by the experience of F.M.D. Peter Tiplady, director for public health in North Cumbria, warned that the crisis could be likened to a natural disaster, and people may suffer mental stress that could take years to heal.[53] On Friday 15th of June the effects of such stress became tragically obvious, with the suicide of three farmers in Powys. The strain brought on by F.M.D. was cited as a significant contributing factor. Yet although *The Guardian* did raise the issue of farmers being surrounded by dead livestock as they awaited disposal, both it and *The Times* located the

[48] ITN news report, 22nd of March, 2001, reproduced at ibid.
[49] ITN news report, 23rd of March, 2001, reproduced at ibid.
[50] ITN news reports on the 26th and 27th of April, 2001, reproduced at ibid.
[51] ITN news reports on the 27th of February, 20th of March, reproduced at ibid.
[52] The *British Medical Journal* did speculate upon human health risks from March 2001, initially outlining the risks of possible human infection, then upon the negative health impact of disposal methods, and a potential transfer of B.S.E. prions through contamination of the water supply. Prempeh, H, "Foot and mouth disease: the human consequences", in *British Medical Journal, Vol.322* (10/03/2001), p.565-6. In the initial months of the crisis it was only a retired psychiatrist, Dr. Hugh Morton who, in the "letters to the editor" column of the B.M.J. Online, raised the idea that communities witnessing the effects of F.M.D. might be suffer potential stress and long term mental health problems. Morton, H, "Foot and mouth disease – human consequences", at BMJ online "Rapid Responses" (15/03/2001), reproduced at http://www.bmj.com/cgi/eletters/322/7286/565#13243 accessed 17/10/2008
[53] See the article "Call for strategies to deal with rural trauma" (12/04/01), available at http://www.communitycare.co.uk/Articles/2001/04/12/30825/Call-for-strategies-to-deal-with-rural-trauma.htm, accessed 16/02/2009

main cause as financial worry.[54] Ultimately, the complexities of farmers' relationships with their livestock are difficult for urban reporters to understand. It is unsurprising then, that the press predominantly framed any human cost of F.M.D. in financial terms.

Consequently, as financial compensation began to be allocated to farmers some sections of the press withdrew their compassion for the farming industry. A Dumfries farmer who received £4.2 million in compensation because of the loss of a prize-winning Limousin bull herd was accused by *The Sunday Times* of "crying all the way to the bank".[55] Most damaging was a spate of reports that appeared in all the national dailies that farmers were intentionally infecting livestock to gain compensation.[56] Needless to say, such suggestions were deeply distressing to those still experiencing the effects of the crisis; as Douglas Crimp has pointed out, to be portrayed as complicit in one's own pain accentuates the traumatogenic effects of any ordeal.[57] This complicity was raised from the beginning of the crisis, in the comments of journalists such as Odone, Browne and Harris which inferred that farmers, and the whole modern food industry was purely driven by a ruthless profit motive. In Alexander's terms this undermines both the nature of the pain, and the identity of the sufferer. It also reveals that the relationship between those affected and the wider audience is by no means clear. While questioning whether farmers, big business, or indeed society as a whole was complicit in the outbreak of F.M.D. such comments reveal wider society's judgements as to whether the farming community was victim or perpetrator of the outbreak. The acerbic headlines about compensation suggest that, by the summer, some elements of the national press had not only lost sympathy with the farming community, but were questioning whether they were suffering any crisis at all.

---

[54] Lomax, S, "Farming suicides blamed on crisis", in *The Guardian* (15/06/01), and Jenkins, R, "The human tragedy of foot-and-mouth", in *The Times* (15/06/01), reproduced at http://www.warmwell.com/warmwellarchive.html, accessed on 07/08/09

[55] "Crying all the way to the bank", in *The Sunday Times* (05/08/01), reproduced at http://www.warmwell.com/warmwellarchive.html, accessed on 07/08/09

[56] Cited in Obourne, P, "Downing Street wants to exploit foot and mouth: to vilify farmers and modernise farming, in *The Spectator* (10/08/01), reproduced at http://www.warmwell.com/warmwellarchive.html, accessed on 07/08/09

[57] Caruth, C & Keenan, T, "'The AIDS Crisis is not Over': A Conversation with Gregg Bordowitz, Douglas Crimp and Laura Pinsky", in Caruth, C (Ed), *Trauma: Explorations in Memory* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1995), p.256

Yet other elements of the press continued to investigate the human cost of F.M.D. In the summer freelance photojournalist Pål Hansen interviewed a cross section of the communities affected in Yorkshire and Cumbria, which fed into a group of portraits: *The Human Cost*. The project recorded a community that felt neglected by official claims that the crisis was under control, and one image symbolically alludes to the feeling of becoming a sacrifice to an unswerving policy of destruction (Figure 9).

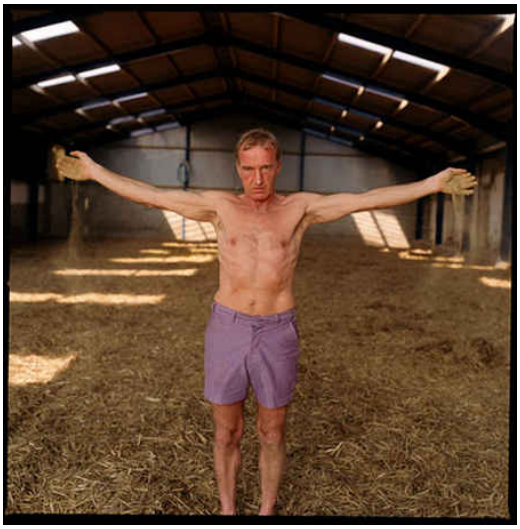


Figure 9: Pål Hansen, *Chris Graham*, from *The Human Cost*, 2001

The project revealed the emotional cost of the epidemic without framing it simply in financial terms, and the images appeared in the *Daily Telegraph* magazine in August 2001, un-contextualised by any text save quotes from Hansen's interviews, and were exhibited at London's Proud Gallery and the Hereford Photography Festival.[58] They coincided with increasingly vehement calls for independent inquiries into what had happened during the epidemic: whether the contiguous cull was an appropriate method of control; why M.A.F.F. had been initially incapable of dealing with the numbers of livestock requiring slaughter and disposal; how could the rural economy recover; and how should future outbreaks be handled.

[58] E-mail interview with Pål Hansen. The precise date of the *Daily Telegraph* feature has not been possible to ascertain. The Proud Gallery exhibition ran in August 2001 and the Hereford Photography Festival in October and November 2001. Hansen was also awarded the runner up prize in the 2001 Observer Hodge Awards for *The Human Cost*.

Nomination

Though the press sent ambiguous messages about precisely what, and whether rural communities were suffering, it did mark out a distinct community of the affected, which had boundaries, (based on a rural-urban differentiation), and was continually, and singularly defined by the disease ("infected", or at least "under siege").[59] This is basically Richard Jenkins' act of nomination, and if this label of difference was broadcast to a wider audience, it was almost certainly digested and internalised by that community itself. It may also have contributed to the trauma. As Kai Erikson suggested in 2003 (speaking specifically of the Cumbrian experience), one aspect of communal trauma is the process of separation of the affected from the unaffected. Often this has a spatial dimension, and a line is "drawn around the affected community and sets it off from the surrounding countryside".[60] Within that boundary the pain becomes the only discourse of that group, and ultimately victims begin to question whether they, in fact, are to blame for their own suffering: "if nothing else, it at least serves as an explanation of the inexplicable".[61] Those outside the line also tend to emphasise this difference as an unconscious way to insulate themselves from that pain, and may too come to believe that the victims brought suffering upon themselves.

Erikson was not speaking specifically of the press reaction to F.M.D. but his comments are apposite. Cumbrian communities were not just nominally marked out, but physically isolated by biosecurity. As people in those communities followed every development of the crisis, and as other social interactions were curtailed, the over-riding discourse became the disease. Jenkins' nominal and virtual aspects of identification became intertwined and self-perpetuating; groups acted out their infectiousness. Those isolated saw their isolation dramatically relayed in the press, which could only serve to increase a sense of severance from normality.

---

[59] It did not do this comprehensively; it failed to address the suffering of those not involved in farming or tourism, but whose lifescape had also been deeply affected, through the negative changes in their environment or long terms disruptions in their routines and relationships.

[60] Erikson, K, "Preface", in Convery, I, Mort, M, Baxter, J, Bailey, C, *Animal Disease and Human trauma: Emotional Geographies of Disaster* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p.xiv

[61] Ibid, p.xv

Cumbrian communities certainly felt that their suffering was under observation from a not necessarily sympathetic national and international press from early in the crisis. Images from the local press emphasise the media frenzy which descended upon sleepy Cumbrian towns, and local F.M.D. crisis activist Deborah Cowin noted how human pain was inevitably becoming press spectacle.[62] The images of Keith James and Colin Shelbourn (Figures 10 & 11) suggest that it was not only the disease that was invading the "normal" Cumbrian landscape, but the press responding to it.

Figure 10: Keith James, "The CNN reporter", from the *Keswick Reminder* (21/03/2001)

Figure 11: Colin Shelbourn, cartoon from *The Westmorland Gazette*[63]

Shelbourn's cartoon reflects upon this frenzy humorously, but it highlights that the discourse of F.M.D. was unavoidable. This constant recycling of stories and images can only have intensified the communities' pain.[64] Yet paradoxically, trauma was also

[62] Cowin, D, "Deborah Cowin", in Graham, op cit, p.141-143. Cowin was owner of The Necessary Angel Gallery in Keswick, and founder of the Cumbria Crisis Alliance, a self help organization for small businesses affected by the epidemic.
[63] Illustration reproduced in Graham, ibid, p.144
[64] Susan Sontag suggested that while repeated images of catastrophe may provoke an increasingly deadened response in those who consume such images as spectacle, for those *experiencing* the crisis this repetition of imagery refreshes and intensifies that pain. Sontag, S, *Regarding the Pain of Others* (London: Penguin, 2004), p.98. Sontag was revising her earlier proposal that viewers inevitably become inured to images of suffering. Sontag, S, *On Photography* (London: Penguin, 1979), p.19

intensified when the press *removed* its focus from a certain area as it followed the frontline of the disease, leading to a feeling in those communities of being cast adrift and ignored.[65]

Corrosive Communities

The epidemic was Erikson's "new species of trouble": the contemporary disaster for which it is difficult to separate a natural from a man-made cause.[66] Such disasters result in traumatic effects that range from the acute to the chronic, and they impact upon (and are impacted by) spheres from the local to the global. Often those affected are associated with a notion of toxicity, leading to precisely those semi-conscious efforts of both sufferers and observers alike to separate themselves. For Erikson, this has both centripetal and centrifugal effects on social relations. "Those not touched try to distance themselves from those touched, almost as if they are escaping something spoiled", whereas the affected are drawn together through shared experiences.[67] However, this is a cohesion based upon emotional damage. For both those inside, and those outside, these are "corrosive communities".[68]

"Corrosive" is an apt term for the divisive influence of Foot and Mouth given its associations with pollution. The highly unequal system of compensation to "standing" and "culled out" farmers also had a "corrosive" effect which has left permanent divisions within some communities.[69] Erikson also suggests that traumatic events "often seem to force open whatever fault lines once ran silently through the structure of the larger community".[70] During the crisis other businesses were financially crippled by a disease that only actually affected farmers, and biosecurity controls that only benefited farmers, and these businesses

---

[65] Bennett, K, Carroll, T, Lowe, P, Phillipson, J, *Coping with Crisis in Cumbria: Consequences of Foot and Mouth Disease*, p.128, available at http://www.ncl.ac.uk/cre/publish/pdfs/rr02.01a.pdf, accessed 23/03/2009

[66] Erikson, K, *A New Species of Trouble: Explorations in Disaster, Trauma and Community* (New York: Norton, 1994). As a traumatic event F.M.D. is an ideal example of this "new species". Though a naturally occurring virus, it was spread through modern methods of livestock transport, and its effects upon human well-being stemmed from the subsequent bureaucracy of official control policy.

[67] Erikson, K, "Notes on Trauma and Community", in Caruth, op cit, p.189

[68] Ibid

[69] Hillyard, S, "Farmers and Valuers: Divisions and Divisiveness and the Social Cost of FMD – A Sociological Analysis of FMD in one Locality", in Döring and Nerlich, op cit, p.81-94

[70] Erikson, op cit, p.189

were not covered by an official system of compensation.[71] In circulating rumour and accusation, the press may well have served to drive wedges into these divisions. However, the lines taken by journalists such as Christina Odone and Paul Harris in the very first days of the crisis also indicate pre-existing fault-lines. By demonstrating detached and very urban assumptions about the distant world of farming, both hint at the chasm of understanding between the urban and rural.[72]

For Erikson communal trauma is more likely to engender corrosive than therapeutic communities. However, F.M.D. suggests that the centripetal and centrifugal forces are evenly matched. Observers may pull away from crisis; they may also want to help. Those traumatised do not inevitably withdraw. As one Cumbrian farmer recalled,

> "*During the foot-and-mouth summer I found I was able to help anybody else, my phone bill was absolutely astronomical. But then I discovered I couldn't do a thing for myself so eventually I ended up – I went to the doctor and he said, 'Oh, you've got clinical depression…* "'.[73]

When a line around the "spoiled" is drawn, it is rational for those within and without to separate, but trauma is not rational.

The Local Press

The line between inside and outside is also not so clear-cut. If F.M.D attracted unprecedented national press coverage, for the local press in Cumbria it was *the* dominant story. The local press is part of the affected community, and has internalised a responsibility towards it (some press agents may also have been directly affected by Foot and Mouth). For the local press the audience consists of people not an abstract "public", and thus they produced a more layered, personal and sensitive account of the crisis. In general the local press provide a higher proportion of personal context to news content than the nationals; they have more input from the public they serve, through letters and

[71] Although the government backed B.T.A. campaign did provide some financial support for tourist businesses affected by F.M.D.
[72] On both sides, the consciousness of a north / south divide may also have affected the division between observer and sufferer, given the southern origins of most national press organisations.
[73] Farmer's testimony, cited in Hillyard, op cit, p.87

comments sections.[74] However, despite this closer relationship with the audience, the landscape photography that appeared in the local press reflected that of the nationals. There were similar images of "Cumbria with four legs sticking up in the air", road blocks and distant smoke across landscape, and similar techniques of tight cropping to raise drama, or the use of panorama to emphasise scale (Figure 13).

Figure 12: Jonathan Becker, image from *The Cumberland News*

Figure 13: John Giles, image from *The Cumberland News*

There were subtle differences. Printing budgets mean a higher proportion of black and white, and thus less spectacular imagery (local papers also have less responsibility to compete in the market through startling front pages, and more to consider the feelings of their readership). There was also more imagery, and it came from a greater number of sources (rather than just the agencies used by the nationals), including newspapers' own photographers, the National Trust, the N.F.U. and the public themselves. So there was a huge range of imagery: generic "road closed" signs, biosecurity mats and haulage lorries, which become poignant in the context of the surrounding text; pictures of significant events, such as the visits of Agriculture Minister Nick Brown: and intentionally emotional and symbolic imagery donated by readers showing their own quarantined homes or condemned stock. We can assume that this imagery was effective in conveying to the local

[74] Of course this varies upon the type of product. Some organisations publish daily, such as Cumbria's *News & Star*, Border Television and BBC Radio Cumbria, and so have a responsibility for news, over and above comment. Some local papers, such as the *Cumberland & Westmorland Herald* or the *Keswick Reminder* only appear weekly, and thus do not focus on news, but comment and reflection: the human impact of that news.

readership the human distress occurring within their community. This use of the local press as a site for sharing experience also made it a focal point for therapeutic gathering.

Therapeutic Gathering: Radio Cumbria

During the outbreak BBC Radio Cumbria came to be one of the prime media for contextualising the crisis.[75] At the peak of the outbreak, from March to early summer 2001, the station ran five minute F.M.D. bulletins seven times a day, relaying new cases of infection, advice, and official policy changes. As such it outstripped any other broadcast medium in terms of the accuracy, and immediacy of its updates. As Radio Cumbria reporter Caz Graham recalls, the station quickly came to be,

> *"relied upon for facts and accurate reporting of the facts, our ability to understand and capture the mood of the community, and our regular scrutiny of key decision makers".*[76]

This "scrutiny" grew from a concern that information emanating from MAFF was inaccurate and out of date. In addition, the station broadcast *Nightline*, a two hour nightly phone-in programme dedicated specifically to F.M.D., "to cope with the huge outpouring of public outrage and private grief".[77] It became a highly emotional forum and consistently attracted more callers than it could cope with.[78]

Radio Cumbria provided a site of community for those physically isolated, and a temporary public sphere in which policy could be discussed and questioned. It became a site for emotional release and therapeutic gathering as those feeling the effects of the crisis shared their experiences with others. One contribution in particular came to resonate with that community: the poem *Into the Valleys of Death* by temporary MAFF vet Peter Frost-Pennington. It was first broadcast in late March, 2001 and provoked an immediate

---

[75] Farming has always been reliant upon radio, due to the outdoor nature of the work, and features, such as constantly updated weather reports, that have been honed to its needs Furthermore, during the long spells of isolation, in which some communities were physically isolated from the printed media it was broadcast media that took up the onus of reporting. Farmers had more time to watch television, but we might suggest that the non-visual medium of radio was more appealing to an audience that perhaps did not want to see repeated images of the disaster, especially considering the negative aspects of coverage outlined above.
[76] Graham, op cit, p.5
[77] *Nightline* ran during April and May 2001. Ibid, p.5
[78] Ibid

response, continually requested by listeners and repeatedly broadcast.[79] War metaphors are clear in its title and in referring to "these Cumbrian killing fields", but it also explicitly refers to human trauma, particularly in reference to the continual slaughter of healthy animals. It also highlights the farmers' "imprisonment…in their own homes", the destruction of livelihoods, the continual presence death, and the attachment between farmer and animal (in terms of husbandry and stewardship, rather than economics).[80] It thus identifies many of the traumatic features of F.M.D.

Obviously, radio does not provide visual landscapes, yet it does provide the language against which landscape imagery is contextualised.[81] Radio Cumbria also turned to a visual medium through the reproduction of their content on their website, which as well as including practical information, reproduced four web diaries contributed by members of the public. It increased its number of hits by 387% between February and March 2001, predominantly because it provided a space in which personal experiences (and thus the concept of a traumatised community) could be aired and shared.[82]

Speaking Pain

Radio Cumbria became a forum. As such it was not only a site of support; but also a place in which the four points of Alexander's message of trauma were formalised. One of these was blame. While Erikson suggests that the line between the technological disaster and the natural disaster is increasingly hard to draw, he states that, whether correctly or not, for the victim the conclusion as to whether their pain is caused by "act of God" or "human error" is

[79] It was subsequently displayed on the station's website, and on the 18th of April Frost-Pennington performed the poem in front of the Prince of Wales at the *Farm Aid* concert at the Royal Albert Hall, organised to raise funds for farmers hit by Foot and Mouth.
[80] Frost-Pennington, P, "Into the Valleys of Death", in Graham, op cit, p.7-8
[81] Certain ideas of the idyllic British landscape are also circulated through radio. It recycles Raymond Williams' "green language" so important in the maintenance of the pastoral idyll, not only in programmes such as *The Archers*, but also in its long tradition of pastoral classical music and poetry.
[82] Graham, op cit, p.117. This was reflected in the formation of other specific networks, such as the Cumbria Crisis Alliance (formed on the 14th March 2001), or events, such as the *Farm Aid* concert. Furthermore other networks devoted increasing proportions of their existing (or brought in new) resources to dealing with the emotional fall-out from the crisis, from local surgeries and vets, to the Cumbria Stress Information Network, which ran a 24 hour phone helpline (and had received over 2700 F.M.D. related calls by the end of August 2001). Ibid, p.110

far more obvious.[83] In the majority of F.M.D. accounts blame seems to be directed at a generalised "situation", however most also direct frustration and anger at the Ministry. MAFF's inability to handle the initial backlog of slaughtered carcasses and its impersonal bureaucratisation of contiguous cull process (farmers were often informed by certain "category notices" that they were to lose their stock) were immediate sources of anger and mistrust. As the cull became compulsory, rather than voluntary blame became specifically aimed at the Ministry. Those that actually implemented these policies, such as the Army, vets or slaughter-men, were not blamed, but often thanked for their compassion and efficiency.[84] When that Ministry changed its name to the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (Defra) it was cynically perceived as an attempt by the Ministry to re-brand itself (in a less authoritarian lower case font) away from its own incompetence.[85]

Blame may be continually contested as the message of trauma is disseminated, but it does show that to a certain extent pain has been defined and accepted (at least for those actually suffering). Alongside Radio Cumbria's website, a number of others sprang up specifically to act as outlets for the expression of pain and blame. www.warmwell.com and www.cullmaff.com were set up to act as reliable sources of information to counter the inadequacies of the government releases and the rumour and contradictions circulated in the national press. They became important sites for the expression of public dissatisfaction and mistrust in the government, based on the potential of e-democracy.[86] Virtual representations of Erikson's "democracy of distress", they became virtual communities for those physically separated by biosecurity measures and geographical location (Cumbria and Devon), but also feeling marginalised by a distant government. [87]

---

[83] Erikson, op cit, p.191

[84] As Frost Pennington's poem recalls, "*After I had killed 365 cattle in one family's dairy herd, they sent flowers to my wife".* Frost Pennington, op cit, p.7

[85] This reshuffle also saw Agriculture Minister Nick Brown ousted from his job, to become Minister for Work at the Department for Work and Pensions.

[86] These sites were text only, but the imagery of F.M.D. is still important as they included links to press web pages. However, we may not the site as a public sphere, or even a counter sphere in the strictest terms. Opinions are expressed, and put on a democratically equal plane, but ultimately edited by the site manager.

[87] Erikson (1995), op cit, p.189. Hillyard, S, "Cull Maff!: The Mobilisation of the Farming Community During the 2001 Foot and Mouth Disease Epidemic" in Herbrechter, S & Higgins, M (Eds), *Returning (to) Communities: Theory, Culture and Political Practice of the Communal* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2006), p.331-345

The book *Heart and Soul, Foot and Mouth*, published by Radio Cumbria in early September 2001, can be seen in similar terms. It is a gathering of testimonies from all walks of Cumbrian rural life, and all those involved in the crisis, from Brigadier Alex Birtwhistle, commander of the Army's support force to farmers, café owners, M.P.s and journalists. It also constitutes a therapeutic *act* of gathering; a show of solidarity and communal strength. Most of all it is a document of trauma, conveyed through personal testimonies. These testimonies are significantly longer than press interviews, are not mediated by an interviewer (or editor), and detail how the practical effects of F.M.D. led to emotional responses (though often, as with all trauma, this escapes precise definition). Potentially then, *Heart and Soul* is an effective vehicle for conveying the message of trauma.

Figure 14: Margaret Buckle (farmer), *Pet Lambs*, 2001

Figure 15: Nick Green (outdoor activities instructor), "Piles of carcasses became all too common", 2001

It is also full of landscape images (in black and white), which come from local newspapers, but mostly from contributors. They range from amateur snaps to the documentary images of photographer John Darwell, and from the objective to the very personal (Figures 14 & 15). They provide a comprehensive vision of the crisis: general shots of biosecurity measures; poignant shots of condemned animals, press shots of protest; and the inevitable pyres. Some directly relate to the text, but many do not. Rather than illustrations they stand alone as self-explanatory documents.

One of these documents is the iconic image of the pyre, which actually has a paradoxical relationship to the cultural construction of trauma. The pyre may not tell us much about the

human trauma of Foot and Mouth. It also became so ubiquitous and repeatedly used that it may have ceased to have any impact upon the news audience. Yet whereas an easily comprehensible narrative may be the most effective vehicle in conveying the *message* of trauma, it may not be useful in conveying the *effects* of trauma. Effective messages use established narrative patterns and pre-existing understandings to convey an easily graspable meaning. Conversely, the traumatic experience defies understanding; it consistently refuses to be explained by a logical narrative. It is felt in emotional affect, not reason. Comprehensible narratives work through Jill Bennett's "common memory", the communally understood, and established forms of representation that we rely upon to contextualise, and make sense of our past and present. The traumatic memory however, is not "common memory" but "sense memory"; it remains a *felt* experience, which contradicts the way that we make sense of the world around us.[88]

While the image of the pyre cannot explain trauma, it may, in Bennett's terms, be an effective vehicle for *translating* the experience of F.M.D. Just as any act of translation must come with the acceptance that part of the message will always defy accurate rendition (an element will always be "lost in translation"), the image of trauma must convey the knowledge that the traumatic experience can never be fully understood.[89] The pyre captures a basic incongruity: the juxtaposition of the pastoral idyll and destruction, and therefore constantly disrupts what "common memory" dictates the landscape should signify. This incongruity constantly defies resolution. The pyre may also be an *affective* image, provoking a visceral, rather than rational response. Most of all it is constantly repeated, mirroring the "flashbulb memory": the frozen image of a traumatic experience that returns unbidden and defies understanding. Indeed some Cumbrians have stated how, travelling through the landscape after the crisis their eyes return to where the pyres were; the visual memory overlaying the present view.[90] The constantly recurring image of the pyre in the landscape has become Lyotard's sublime event, repeatedly witnessed then forgotten. It may

[88] Bennett, op cit, p.25-27. Bennett's conclusions stem from the study of the poetry of Holocaust survivor Charlotte Delbo, particularly her *Days and Memory* (Marlboro, Vt: Marlboro Press, 1990).
[89] Bennett, ibid, p.121
[90] Convery et al (2008), op cit, p.138

have contributed little to the understanding of F.M.D. as communal trauma, but it has become a valuable part of the message that it was trauma.

Landscape, and the Press as a Carrier Group

Heart and Soul was released in September 2001, a few weeks before the last case of infection in Cumbria. Though it rarely mentions trauma specifically, it is a self-conscious effort to record the range of suffering in a community experiencing pain. It is also a self-conscious record of an event with a beginning, middle, and a foreseeable end. Infection and decontamination were to briefly continue after its release and the traumatic effects for some time to come, but it is a physical embodiment of communal memory in the making. This too is therapeutically important as both a noun and a verb; the book constitutes a memorial to the experience of F.M.D., but was jointly produced and so represented a communal *act* of commemoration. It also coincided with the planning of a number of independent reports and official enquiries, on a local, national and European level, which signified the movement from a period of crisis into a period of evaluation. The traumatic experience of F.M.D is not relegated to the past, but it does have a past; trauma is no longer lived in a perpetual present.

Within days of the release of the book events in New York eclipsed the outbreak in the national (if not the local) press.[91] Nonetheless, while the spotlight rested on Cumbria in the spring of 2001, the story of Foot and Mouth dominated national coverage, and at the local level, it became "all consuming".[92] The press were therefore influential in disseminating certain messages that went towards Alexander's cultural construction of trauma. Firstly, it outlined the communities that were suffering; it named a community (and the naming of a community essentially forms one).[93] At times, this community may only have been defined by a geographical area, Cumbria, but the press tied F.M.D. to the county across the cultural forms of the written word, radio, and importantly, landscape.

[91] Though F.M.D. was far from invisible; the findings of the various inquiries received much press attention. Nevertheless we could say that 9/11 may have been a parametric factor, increasing some people's trauma, by removing attention from their pain.
[92] Graham, op cit, p.6
[93] Jenkins, R, *Social Identity, 2nd Edition* (London: Routledge, 2004), p.83-5

Secondly, it pointed out that these communities were suffering. Interviews captured people's pain, and landscape imagery located the source and results of that pain in the lived environment. However, from here the coherence of the message broke down. This pain was often put down to financial loss, or an unspecific "waste" of personal and financial investment. This was remedied in the coverage in the local press, which highlighted a range of suffering experienced by all sections of the community. Yet too much information can be as confusing as too little. As John Law and Vicky Singleton have pointed out, as a communal trauma, F.M.D. suffered from too much meaning. It did not just disrupt one idea of identity, it disrupted many, and these disruptions were *all* voiced.[94] So overall, the "nature of the pain", was either too briefly sketched, or complex to the point of confusion.

This impacted upon the other points of the message. The incoherence of the way that the press conveyed the effects of F.M.D. meant that any message about distress was bound to be met with ambivalence, especially if the viewer or reader had their own interest in the rural space. Indeed, the notion that farmers may have been deeply affected was not understood, or accepted by all parts of the news audience. Responding to the (rather crass) question, "Did foot-and-mouth spoil your Easter?" on the BBC website one member of the public responded,

> "*Of course it spoiled my Easter - all the footpaths are closed and going anywhere in the country is hardly enjoyable unless I can get away from roads and cars. Why are all footpaths closed? I understand the need in infected areas, but why a blanket ban? I suspect ancient farmers' and MAFF's (run to serve big farmers) prejudice against walkers*".[95]

The feeling that the crisis needed to be investigated in more detail gave rise to inquiries and studies, but also the photographic projects examined in the next chapter. Yet despite the incongruities in the overall story of F.M.D. delivered in the press, we have been left with the definitive images of the crisis: the picture of "Cumbria with four legs in the air". This, and the images provided by those photographic projects make landscape an effective

[94] Law, J & Singleton, V, "Disaster: A Further Species of Trouble? Disaster and Narrative", in Döring and Nerlich, op cit, p.229-242
[95] BBC Online, "Talking Point" weblog: "Did v foot-and-mouth spoil your Easter?" at http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/talking_point/1281422.stm, accessed 24/01/2010

vehicle for suggesting that Foot and Mouth was deeply traumatic for communities in Cumbria.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Landscape Photography of the Foot and Mouth Disease Epidemic in Cumbria

"*Suddenly there was nothing, absolutely nothing there. And I looked at the fields and I felt sick. And I just thought, this is not something sentimental about one particular sheep, or one particular flock of sheep. It was the whole lot had gone. The whole lot.*"[1]

This chapter assesses the landscape images of three photographers, John Darwell, Ian Geering and Nick May, and the ways in which they convey an experience of the landscape during the Foot and Mouth epidemic in Cumbria. If the press imagery of the crisis brought attention to the crisis, the photography of the ensuing months served to highlight the human consequences of the epidemic. These images are an attempt to provide a more complete picture of the effects of the crisis. This is done through providing detail, but also by showing the temporal extent of the epidemic; how the fallout continued to be felt long after the press crews had packed up and left.[2]

How though, do we differentiate this body of imagery from the press photographs of Foot and Mouth? To draw upon terms such as documentary and photo-journalism may not serve much purpose, at a time when the distinction between photographic genres is more blurred than ever.[3] Nevertheless, there are still certain assumptions about what the documentary photographer does, and what the press photographer does, which may be of some use. The press photographer is assumed to work quickly to seek out the immediately comprehensible and visually arresting image. The documentary photographer no longer provides "news", but is assumed to build up a more complete, but also more ambiguous picture of any situation by engaging with their subject over time. The documentary photograph is thus

---

[1] Helen Hutchinson, resident of Castle Carrick, Cumbria, interviewed by Caz Graham, BBC Radio Cumbria, *A Sense of Place, Series One, Programme Three: The Truth about Sheep* (Spring 2002), available at http://www.bbc.co.uk/cumbria/sense_of_place/prog_3.shtml

[2] In Geering's case this is a spatial completeness, documenting the geographical spread of destruction, including to the often overlooked "garden" county of Kent (at least until the next F.M.D. outbreak in 2007).

[3] In fact, John Darwell avoids the term "documentary" to describe his work, simply regarding it as "photography". "Wondering Aloud": Artist's talk, *Committed to Memory* exhibition, Tullie House Museum and Art Gallery, Carlisle, 9th June, 2007

assumed to uncover *more* than the press image (even if this is more ambiguity).[4] Certainly, agency photographers such as Marlow and Mitchell produced their images during a comparative lightning visit, in relation to Darwell's project that lasted nearly a year. Yet Ian Geering's tour of the counties affected by F.M.D. was also relatively quick.[5] So we cannot make hard and fast rules about the relationship between the timescale of "engagement" and its results. It is also difficult to identify inherent visual differences between these types of image. The photographers that recorded the F.M.D. crisis for the press were attached to *agencies*, rather than employed by *newspapers*. So photographers such as Jeff Mitchell and Peter Marlow, while needing to produce a marketable product, also produced a moderately large body of images, some of which are less spectacular, more layered, and less immediately saleable (Figures 1 and 2).[6]

Figure 1: Peter Marlow (Magnum), Cumbria, 2001

Figure 2: Peter Marlow (Magnum), Cumbria 2001

As the visual sociologist Howard Becker has pointed out, often the difference between photo-journalism, documentary and other types of photographs is the use they are put to: context, rather than content.[7] Certain aspects of this rather amorphous term, "context", have

[4] These are the assumptions outlined by commentators such as Charlotte Cotton. Cotton, C, *The Photograph as Contemporary Art* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2004), p.167-189

[5] Furthermore, a photographer such as Pål Hansen, whose career is based upon the swiftly taken portrait (for both commercial and press outlets) displays an enviable ability to gain the confidence of his subjects in a very short time, and produced a very sympathetic picture of the fallout of F.M.D as a result.

[6] Though it was these photographers' more dramatic images that appeared in the press.

[7] Becker, H, "Visual Sociology, Documentary Photography and Photojournalism: It's (Almost) All a Mater of Context", in *Visual Sociology, Vol.10, No.1-2* (1995), p.5-14

marked out the three photographers studied here. There is the context of what they set out to achieve. All three were motivated by the urge to provide a more complete, but also more personal picture than that portrayed in the press; the urge to reveal, rather than show. This has led to certain stylistic and methodological choices. For instance, Ian Geering's work is in black and white, which conjures ideas of nostalgia, but also documentary authenticity.[8] There is also the context of display. These images appeared in the arenas of documentary, rather than reportage: photo-books and art galleries. This means that they were consumed in a very different way to newspaper images, both in practical terms (image size, resolution, etc.) and in terms of the expectations of, and investment made by the viewer.

These photographers intended to convey the experience of *being in* the landscape, as much as provide visual information about the facts of that landscape: the evidence of trauma. They were walking the age old line of the documentary photographer; the contradictory responsibility to produce objective facts, and to reveal their own subjective processing of those facts.[9] Indeed, both subjectivity and objectivity must be accounted for in any photographs used to communicate trauma. If a message of trauma is to be convincing the audience must believe it is based in real experience. Yet any act of witnessing must also be self-critical. One person cannot communicate the true experience of another's trauma. Contemporary documentary has internalised the problems of realism and the limits of objectively "knowing" any reality. Unless they are one and the same person, the gap between the subject's and photographer's knowledge of trauma will always be unbridgeable to a certain extent.[10]

Trauma, after all defies understanding; it is experienced in illogical feelings, rather than logical reasoning. We can return to Jill Bennett's suggestion that trauma is recalled (if it is recalled at all) in sense memory, rather than the logical narrative way in which memory is

[8] John Darwell uses a medium format camera, Nick May opts for a panoramic view.
[9] This has taken some time to become embedded in attitudes to photography. Lewis Hine, had already recognised the fine line between photographic evidence and polemic at the turn of the twentieth century, stating that, "this unbounded faith in the integrity of the photograph is often rudely shaken, for, while photographs may not lie, liars may photograph". Hine, L, "Social Photography, How the Camera May Help in the Social Uplift", in Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Corrections (June 1909), in Trachtenberg, A (Ed), *Classic Essays on Photography* (New Haven: Leete's Island Books, 1980), p.111. Subsequently, subjectivity and objectivity become irrevocably tied in the term "documentary" (for instance, in John Grierson's idea of "the creative treatment of actuality").
[10] We cannot assume the traumatized individual could even represent their own pain.

normally constructed: common memory.[11] So in trauma, there is a conflict between feeling and understanding. It is this *conflict* that should be the focus of any image that attempts to convey trauma. Consequently perhaps the only effective way to convey trauma is to provoke feeling in the viewer, affect, rather than understanding. Bennett proposes that images that attempt to construct an idea of trauma, are actually attempting an act of translation, rather than representation. They should not aim to reveal the true experience of the other, but to reveal that we *cannot* truly understand that experience.[12]

This leads Bennett to raise doubts about the ability of documentary photography to convey trauma. However, her definition of documentary appears to be narrow: assuming that its only role is to serve up images of suffering that shock us into action.[13] Perhaps we should not disregard the power to shock (it often does provoke action).[14] After all, the shocking picture of the pyre has remained the iconic image of F.M.D. Though for Bennett, documentary seems limited to this function. It also does not seem to have faced the question of whether photography *can* record and translate real experience.[15] So for her documentary makes various claims that are in fact untenable: that we can know the victim and what constitutes their normality, what happened to them, and to what effect. Of course a self-critical contemporary documentary makes no such claims; it has internalised the problems inherent in the act of observation, and now seeks to open rather than impose meaning.[16] The work of Darwell, May and Geering does this, and therefore may have more in common with Bennett's act of translation than with representation. Rather than the dramatic or sublime press picture of the pyre or carcass, these images derive their power from subtle changes in the familiar and everyday. So instead, we may be shown the trace of these pyres; smoke in the distance or wafting across a road, the scars left after the burning, or merely emptiness.

---

[11] Bennett, J, *Empathic Vision: Affect, Trauma, and Contemporary Art* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005), p.24-27
[12] Ibid, p.121
[13] Ibid, p.62-64
[14] Notwithstanding Susan Sontag's concern that repeated shocking imagery merely leads to the deadening of empathy. Sontag, S, *On Photography* (London: Penguin, 1979)
[15] Bennett simply assumes that this is an unresolved question, and skates over it. Bennett, op cit , p.3
[16] In fact, since the critical debates of the 1970s and 1980s, we may assume that *all* photographers in a position to record crisis have internalised the idea that observation denotes an imbalance of power, carries ethical responsibilities, and must be critical of the ideology that underpins it.

There are also pictures of people, ranging from Nick May's seven highly emotional filmed monologues given by those affected by F.M.D. in his project *'Til the Cows Come Home*, to Darwell and Geering's portraits of farmers and farm workers. They may simply be images of people involved in the practicalities of cleaning up and attempting to get back to normality, and often these show little emotion, instead suggesting blankness or silent resilience. These images are the result of long and strong relationships between photographer and subject, but all three photographers are very aware of their position as witnesses. The images show an unwillingness to speak for the subject; and an unwillingness to capture the decisive image of human pain. None of these photographers are directly involved in agriculture or tourism; they accept that they can only guess what Foot and Mouth meant to those that are.

Inevitably, these images of people add context to the landscapes. However, they will not be discussed here. To do so would raise questions concerning whether the image of human suffering effectively translates pain.[17] The subject of this thesis is whether landscape can convey trauma. Yet there is a strong human presence in these landscapes: that of the photographer.[18] Rather than beginning with an assumption of what the traumatic experience of F.M.D. is, and then setting out to signify that experience, this work investigates what it feels like to be in that landscape. It suggests that this experience is disorientating, uncomfortable and sinister; that there has been some sort of disruption in the relationship between man and landscape. These scenes are clearly subjective, but work through affect to open a space for individual reactions, rather than attempting to define a single experience.

---

[17] One such question is that of indexicality. The personal testimony is assumed to be the most authentic record of trauma, it is in effect indexical. As such it is used in Truth and Reconciliation tribunals. However, such tribunals also draw attention to the idea that memories may be "performed". Memories are constructed according to certain embedded templates; they are certainly constructed as stories as soon as they are delivered to an audience. There are also more political aspects of testimony. As Leigh Gilmore has suggested, delivering testimony places the subject in a potentially contradictory position; their accounts must be *individual* (in order to have veracity), but also *universal* (in order to speak for other victims). Gilmore, L, *The Limits of Autobiography: Trauma and Testimony* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), p.1-15. Such considerations are important for tribunals but also for documentaries, and are now factored into both production (through a critical realism) and reception. May's monologues are extremely poignant, and so may be very effective in translating the personal experience of F.M.D. However, they are not necessarily the "truth" of that experience, and should not be treated as such.

[18] The viewer is also a presence in these landscape images. As William Mitchell proposes, landscape forces us to regard our position (physically and ideologically) in regard to the space in front of us. Mitchell, W.J.T, "Introduction", in Mitchell, W.J.T. (Ed), *Landscape and Power, 2nd Edition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), p.2

As Liz Wells has pointed out, these images also suggest an immediate contrast between the embedded idealised notion of the pastoral idyll and the reality of the landscape during F.M.D.[19] This is not just a matter of undermining established symbols, but also the space of the idyllic representation of landscape. In the traditional landscape nothing exists outside the space of representation; it is a complete picture of what the English landscape is meant to represent (even if that representation reveals the structures of social power of wider society). This is especially the case with tourist landscapes of the Lake District: nothing from the outside should be allowed to pollute the scene. In these images however, the scene is *always* polluted by what is going on outside the frame. They are landscapes that have been physically affected by outside powers, and ones which seem held in grip of inaction, while life goes on as normal beyond the frame.

This discussion will draw upon some of the accounts of the crisis.[20] Yet the landscapes do not merely illustrate that evidence (much of them precede the release of those accounts), but provide another way of understanding the traumatic break between human and landscape: the fundamentally altered lifescape. They convey the experience of Foot and Mouth in ways particular to landscape. They may suggest evidence: the photographers may simply label their landscapes with a place name, or a short caption illustrating the process or event represented, asking us to accept the indexical claims of the photograph. They may suggest symbolism, particularly that of the English bucolic tradition. However, the symbolic associations of landscape are our common memory. Sometimes these pictures recreate the physical sensation of travelling through a landscape; they work through affect. The feelings provoked are discordant with that common memory, provoking precisely the conflict which might "translate" trauma. This is particularly evident in John Darwell's record of the first weeks of the crisis.

Landscape and Affect

[19] Wells, L, "Darkening Days: A Critical Scenario in Three Acts", in Darwell, J, *Dark Days* (Stockport: Dewi Lewis, 2007), pp.11-13

[20] Predominantly the studies of Mort et al, but also the diaries and accounts from Graham's *Heart and Soul*, though acknowledging that these accounts became available *after* the photography was taken, sometimes after it was exhibited.

Darwell was initially unwilling to document the F.M.D. epidemic, but increasingly frustrated with the optimistic spin put on the crisis by the government he decided to document a Cumbrian landscape that was very much not "open for business". Initially uncomfortable with recording the human suffering of the crisis, the first stage of the project that was to become *Dark Days* was a solitary, personal journey to record the changed landscape. [21]

Closed footpath, Kirkstone Pass looking towards Ullswater (Figure 3a) echoes any number of traditional Lake District views, with its composition of country track embanked by high wild fells.[22] However, this is an updated view of Lakeland. The picture is taken from the viewpoint of a modern roadway; and from an angle much lower than that of the traditional picturesque "viewing station". It thus acknowledges that contemporary view of the Lakes is more often through the eyes of John Urry's "tourist gaze", and the physical frame of the car windscreen.

Kirkstone Pass also highlights the changes brought about by Foot and Mouth. The minute detail of a string of red tape across a stile reveals that access onto the Cumbrian fells is now officially barred; the site of healthy activity becomes one of biological risk (figure 3b). We can read this scene in terms of Roland Barthes's notion of studium and punctum.[23] While the viewer can quickly locate *Kirkstone Pass* within the studium of the picturesque Lakeland landscape (or a contemporary rendering thereof), the punctum of the red tape serves as the point of rupture, the detail that engenders a new consideration or chain of thought. Of course for Barthes the punctum is indefinable and subjective for each viewer. It loses its power if the photographer draws attention to it, it becomes coded, endowed with symbolic meaning. Barthes's punctum must remain *un-coded*.[24] So the red tape in this scene is not a punctum per se (Darwell actually draws attention to it in the caption).

[21] Darwell, J, "John Darwell" entry in Graham, C (Ed), *Foot and Mouth, Heart and Soul: A Collection of Personal Accounts of the Foot and Mouth Outbreak in Cumbria 2001* (Carlisle: Small Sister / BBC Radio Cumbria, 2001), p.125-6
[22] For instance, John Constable's, *Borrowdale from near Stonethwaite looking south west to Glaramara*, 1806.
[23] Barthes, R, *Camera Lucida 3rd Edition* (London: Vintage, 2000) [originally 1980], p.49-59
[24] Ibid, p.51

Figure 3a: John Darwell, *Closed footpath, Kirkstone Pass looking towards Ullswater*, 2001, and **Figure 3b**: detail.

Barthes' idea does illustrate how the documentary landscape might convey meaning through affect. In *Kirkstone Pass* Darwell wanted to convey the feeling of travelling through a landscape that had become inaccessible and sinister. This feeling may be heightened as the image is taken as if from the car, which has promised freedom to consume the countryside since the days of H.V. Morton, but now becomes a site of isolation: both protective and claustrophobic. This image attempts to convey a direct physical experience; it works through affect. If we return to Bennett's proposition, the reference to the traditional landscape tallies with "common" memory (Barthes' studium), and yet the image also engenders a physical feeling that is somewhat beyond definition:

"sense" memory. This sense is in direct contrast to the feelings that the traditional landscape should evoke. So, though it is impossible to define for every viewer, a possible punctum in this image is the feeling engendered by the camera angle. This angle could also be equated to Gilles Deleuze's "encountered sign": a phenomenon that is not a recognisable object (it can only be felt or sensed), but still conveys meaning. Deleuze proposes that a feature of the encountered sign is that it agitates, and prompts thought.[25] The encountered sign then, has a rather similar effect to Barthes' punctum.

A similar evocation of affect can be suggested in *Disinfectant mat, Patterdale* (Figure 4). Again Darwell draws attention to the minor detail corrupting the otherwise quintessentially English scene, in the title of the photograph. This is then, a disrupting, agitating feature, but not a punctum or encountered sign. Instead we might locate a potential punctum in the way the bending road sharply veers off to the right of the image, contrasting with the straight road leading to the (perhaps infected) village. The eye is caught in an unresolved contradiction, to follow the road ahead, or flee to safety to the right. The image communicates through affect.

Figure 4: John Darwell, *Disinfectant mat, Patterdale,* 2001

[25] Deleuze, G, *Proust and Signs* (trans. Richard Howard) (New York: George Braziller, 1972), cited in Bennett, op cit, p.36-7

With this image we can logically consider the effects of F.M.D. on the landscape. For instance, the telephone box suggests an idyllic English village, but the disinfectant mat undermines that idyll. The box also represents communication, but with the mat also suggests that the residents are isolated from the outside world. These are the intellectual responses evoked by the studium. However, the power of the scene comes from the intellectual and emotional agitation conveyed by that encountered sign: the urge to escape.[26] There is also a hint of temporal conflict; the sharply receding roads suggest movement, in contrast to the telephone box and farm buildings which seem resolutely static. As Kai Erikson proposes, during trauma "the moment becomes a season, the event becomes a condition", and in *Disinfectant mat, Patterdale* we get the impression of an isolated landscape locked in stasis, while the rest of the world (the world placed at this road junction) can continue in motion.[27] Inaction and enduring stasis is implied in many of Darwell's early Foot and Mouth images (conversely, in many it is not, and the fleeting moment is momentarily suspended). There is a feeling that time is going on elsewhere, but here it has drawn to a halt. In Ian Geering's pictorial journey through Cumbria, this silence, stillness and inaction becomes overbearing and physically palpable: Deleuze's encountered sign.

As Robert Adams suggests, if landscape photography was merely about reproducing what is in front of the camera, it would belong to the realm of science, rather than art.[28] It is important that these are records of personal journeys. For Darwell, a long time resident of Cumbria this is a journey through well known landscapes. For Geering it is an attempt to comprehend the sheer geographical vastness of the crisis. Yet while these photographs are entirely subjective, and can work through somewhat indefinable powers of affect, they also provide evidence of the practical consequences of Foot and Mouth.[29] After all, the

[26] This affect is also a result of Darwell's choice of medium format lens, enabling a wide visual field and dramatic foreshortening.
[27] Erikson, K, "Notes on Trauma and Community", in Caruth, C (Ed), *Trauma: Explorations in Memory* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1995), p.185
[28] Adams, R, *Beauty in Photography, 2nd Edition* (New York: Aperture, 1996), p.15
[29] Similarly, Howard Becker suggests that Robert Frank's journey, collected in *The Americans*, is unapologetically subjective (that, after all, is one of the acknowledged strengths of the project, it shows Americans themselves through foreign eyes), but that does not prevent it from providing a wealth of sociological information. Becker, op cit.

photographs emphasise the changes in the landscape due to biosecurity controls; precisely those practical changes that contributed to trauma.

Tainted Villages

The photographs of Darwell and Geering record how biosecurity measures prevented access to the spaces of tourism, but also enclosed spaces on the individual and communal level. Just as *Kirkstone Pass* undermines the idyllic Lakeland landscape with sinister hints of infection, Geering's image of Bampton Grange plays on the idea of the English country village as a tranquil retreat (Figure 5). Rendered in black and white, and washed in low evening sunlight, it is a pastoral vision reminiscent of English heritage films, or the age when communities showed their best face through the postcard. This idealised, nostalgic vision is shattered when we see the contemporary traffic cones standing sentry over the disinfectant mat that guards the village. Geering's idyll is not only threatened by the disease, but this disease itself is linked to the modern; not only purity is threatened but simplicity and innocence.

Figure 5: Ian Geering, *Disinfectant Stop, Bampton Grange*, 2001

These images illustrate how movement restrictions were all encompassing, and provide visual proof of the detrimental effects of Foot and Mouth. They show the official notices pinned to gates and fences to prevent access or designate properties as infected, and suggest

how many people felt their lives run by an inhuman bureaucracy during the epidemic. These scenes are un-peopled, but not uninhabited. One always feels that there is a human presence at the end of the farm track, or behind the cottage window. It is given away by the minor details of disinfectant buckets and the straw on driveways. Once again, what is important is that which is beyond the frame of the camera; the unseen. In Darwell's *Farm Entrance, Southwaite* the warning of the disinfectant mat is replaced by a blatant "keep out" (Figure 6). Isolation and fear become palpable, and the camera seems to emphasise the few hundred yards between the outside world and the farm behind the cordon. The effect upon these silent and unseen people is summed up by one quarantined Cumbrian business owner: "To be in here for a whole year, every day to see nobody…You begin to hate the place. You begin to hate the thing you love".[30] This is the traumatogenic change of lifescape.

Figure 6: John Darwell, *Farm Entrance, Southwaite*, 2001

Quarantine is the separation of healthy from un-healthy, and unsurprisingly, many of the accounts in *Heart and Soul* reveal not only farmers' perpetual fear of having their stock

[30] Mort, M, Convery, I & Bailey, C, "Psychological Effects of the 2001 UK Foot and Mouth Disease Epidemic in a Rural Population: Qualitative Diary Based Study", in *British Medical Journal*, *Vol.331*, (2005), p.1238 available at http://www.bmj.com/cgi/content/full/331/7527/1234, accessed on 02/05/2007

infected, but also of infecting others. Both the practical and psychological effects of isolation are highlighted by farm resident Jenny de Robeck: "went down to the cattle grid to collect groceries from Pauline. We really do feel 'unclean', as if touching someone beyond the boundary will contaminate them".[31]

Yet the separation had both potentially divisive and *positive* effects upon social relations. De Robeck's diary entry emphasises isolation and contagion, but also community spirit in the figure of "Pauline": the development of both corrosive and therapeutic communities. Nonetheless, the negative feelings of separation were intensified by a contiguous cull policy which meant that not only herds designated as un-healthy, but also those in proximity to the unhealthy, were destroyed. To be infected was not only to be un-healthy, but *infectious*. Furthermore, though many voluntarily isolated themselves due to concern for community, un-cleanliness or cleanliness was also *officially* designated, by the issuing of Form A ("Notice declaring infected place") or Form B ("Withdrawal of notice declaring infected place").[32] As Darwell's *Farm Entrance, Southwaite* shows, these forms were then posted on farm gates and entrances, an internalised sense of being contaminated became a public display of being contagious. In light of this, we may perhaps detect a certain tense ambiguity in Geering's image of Bampton Grange; is the village protecting itself from the infected outside world, or vice versa?

Abjection

A sense of contamination was internalised due to isolation, labelling, and, no doubt, the plague metaphors circulated in the press. Yet it also had a basis in physical reality. In the first weeks of the epidemic, during which the quantity of animals destroyed quickly out-paced the logistical capabilities for their disposal, culled animals remained on some properties for significant lengths of time before removal (frequently up to two weeks). This resulted in decomposition of herds in situ, often within sight and smell of peoples' homes. Jenny de Robeck was incarcerated on her farm for eleven days while she waited for the removal of carcasses from her property. As she recalls,

[31] De Robeck, J, "Jenny de Robeck" entry in Graham, op cit, p.78. De Robeck was not a farmer but did live on farm buildings, and was cut off by the quarantine measures.
[32] Graham, C, "Caz Graham" entry, in Graham, ibid, p.122-3. Note that Form B does not denote cleanliness, merely the withdrawal of the declaration of un-cleanliness.

> "*the bodies of cattle lie sprawled in the yard, bloating, heads out-stretched, tongues hanging out, undignified. Just appalling…MAFF are coming tomorrow to spray disinfectant on the carcasses. No sign of them being moved…The smell is quite horrendous. To go outside now, even to the garden with the cats and dogs is revolting. It is essential to wear a scarf round your face on account of the stench*".[33]

John Darwell's photograph, *Lambs and sheep by roadside, Brow Nelson, outskirts of Carlisle* (Figure 7), is visually divided by the central motif of roadside hedge and a gate upon which a small sign reads "no entry - foot and mouth". On one half a public road recedes into the distance, on the other lies a pile of carcasses, hidden to passers by. The invisible menace in the first few photographs of Darwell's journey around Cumbria reveals itself in this image. Normality and destruction are shown to be divided by the thinnest of borders. It is an image of un-resolvable conceptual opposites: the bucolic and destruction.[34] Yet this is not a particularly idyllic landscape, but an unassuming and everyday one. So this is not the contrast between the bucolic and the sublime that we might encounter in the press image, but a contradiction between the sinister and the banal. The sheep carcasses form a visual pattern that appears to seep from the centre (extended by the pale, water-filled ruts that stretch into the foreground), and contrasts with the straight lines of the ordered agricultural landscape that surrounds it. However, on closer examination this "seep" is actually an ordered pile of carcasses; the lambs have been carefully separated from the adults. One of the seemingly contradictory aspects of the farmer-livestock relationship is that although stock is sent to slaughter, farmers still need to know that an animal "killed well". Pride in raising stock continues beyond the point that they reach the food chain.[35] So here perhaps there is an attempt to reclaim some dignity for the animal and order in the face of chaos that (by this time) defies reasoning. So a number of contradictions emerge both visually and conceptually: husbandry and slaughter; the seen and the hidden; public order

---

[33] de Robeck, op cit, p.77

[34] As such images prompt an un-resolvable oscillation between conceptual opposites we might suggest they correspond to Philip Thomson's idea of the grotesque. The grotesque too conflates features that give rise to un-resolvable incongruous sentiments. Thomson, P, *The Grotesque* (London: Methuen, 1972).

[35] Convery, I, Bailey, C, Mort, M, & Baxter, J, "Death in the Wrong Place? Emotional Geographies of the UK 2001 Foot and Mouth Disease Epidemic", in *The Journal of Rural Studies, No.21* (2005), p.104. Indeed, one of the aspects that upset de Robuck was the indignity of the cattle's fate.

and private chaos; ordered form and the formless; control and complete lack of it; and death, and the banal. The image appears to sum up what Eric Rosenberg suggests is "trauma's achievement – to forever shuttle signification between banality and upheaval: the quotidian and rupture".[36]

Figure 7: John Darwell, *Lambs and sheep by roadside, Brow Nelson, outskirts of Carlisle*, 2001

Figure 8: John Darwell, *Awaiting Disposal, Gaitsgill Road, Near Ivegill*, 2001

A similar scene at Gaitsgill Road allows us to imagine the impact of the dead upon the farmer (Figure 8). This image juxtaposes a more idealised pastoral scene with the practical consequences of F.M.D. A white painted farmhouse bathed in springtime sunshine is undermined by an abstract shape in the foreground, which in colour merges with the brown earth of the field and the farm machinery, but reveals itself to be a mass of carcasses. Another closely tied emotion that emerges from the Foot and Mouth diaries is shame. Farmers who viewed themselves as custodians of flocks and bloodlines felt guilty that the destruction occurred "on their watch", and a "stigma of the F.M.D. victim" weighed heavily on those who had previously felt themselves as independent and resilient.[37] In Darwell's image the viewer is cut off from the scene by a wire fence, but the destruction is still visible. Any shame felt by this farm's residents is a public shame. The farmhouse appears to turn away from this scene, and we may imagine that its inhabitants are shielding themselves from both the sight of destruction and the public view of their loss.

[36] Rosenberg, E, "Walker Evans's Depression and the Trauma of Photography", in Saltzman, L & Rosenberg, E (Eds), *Trauma and Visuality in Modernity* (Hanover, N.H: Dartmouth College Press, 2006), p.45
[37] Convery, et al (2005), op cit, p.104

What is vividly revealed here is the idea of "death in the wrong place": a rupture in the emotional geography which divides the processes of slaughter from the processes of husbandry. This emotional geography may be hard for an urban viewer to understand, but these images can still provide an uncomfortable and powerful message by playing on sets of assumptions that transcend a comprehension of rural life. Death is vividly contrasted with life, contamination with purity, and abnormality with normality. As Mary Douglas proposed, a pollutant is rarely considered dirty in itself, but because it is literally "out of place".[38] Needless to say discarded carcasses will become a source of pollution, but it is this "out of place-ness" that provides the immediate visual and conceptual incongruity in these images.

We can also understand how the presence of the carcass represents an invasion of normal space. What is shown here is Julia Kristeva's abjection; the state of being surrounded by material that has been cast off, and should be disposed of, out of sight. For Kristeva, the ultimate abject material is the cadaver. If it is not banished it provides an affront to the very sense of identity, as the boundary between the self and the unacceptable other is constantly transgressed.[39] The surrounding of the farmers' home with the presence of dead animals constitutes an affront in Kristeva's terms. That these animals were formerly raised and nurtured constitutes a further blow to the farmers' identity, and a consistent threat to identity is potentially traumatic.

Yet not only farmers were surrounded by the abject. The smoke and smells from the pyres used to destroy carcasses permeated the whole landscape. A recurring theme in F.M.D. accounts is the constant invasion of normality by such smells; as one of Mort et al's research subjects recalls,

---

[38] Douglas, M, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo, 4th Edition* (London: Ark, 1988), p.35. Our secular idea of pollution grows not only from the discovery of pathogens during modernity, but also from the *sense of order* that constituted the philosophical foundation of that modernity. In fact, the way we confront Foot and Mouth Disease corresponds to Douglas's affront to order. In countries such as Argentina, in which it is endemic (as it was in Britain in the nineteenth century), the disease is not seen as a plague, but accepted as part of agriculture. The ability to control the disease in Europe has led to it being seen as an abnormality, or contagion. It is seen as out of place in Britain, because we have imposed order upon it over the twentieth century. What has become important is not the disease itself, but the fact that we do not have it.

[39] Kristeva, J, *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), p.2-4

"*Well there was five pyres all burning at the same* [time] *within a quarter mile radius of Longtown…I got up one morning and the smell in the house was terrible, and I thought it was foggy outside. I opened the back door thinking to let the smell out and it was worse. It was smoke whirling around the houses. Because it was a calm morning, you would think it was dense fog. And it was stinking, it was horrible and we had that for three or four weeks…*"[40]

This is the undermining of landscape and lifescape across the whole community.

Figure 9: John Darwell, *Drifting Smoke*, 2001

Figure 10: Ian Geering, *Shap*, 2001

Darwell, Geering and May avoid the dramatic image of the pyre, but in Darwell's record this pyre smoke is represented as a subtle presence undermining a wider idyllic landscape or an all encompassing, but temporary, fog.[41] In *Drifting smoke* (Figure 9), the only evidence of death is the pall of smoke that briefly brushes across a country track.[42] Again, this image reflects Darwell's own physical experience of the landscape, and what we are given is the impression of being briefly caught in the all pervading smoke; a momentary, but intense presence, before a deep and total absence.

[40] Convery et al (2008), op cit, p.75

[41] In fact, when these photographs were collected in photo-book format, in *Dark Days*, the first part is titled "The Burning Season". Darwell, J, *Dark Days* (Stockport: Dewi Lewis, 2007).

[42] Unwittingly (he was not aware of Mitchell's image at the time), Darwell has updated Mitchell's image of the farmer carrying lambs up a virtually identical track. Though the poignancy of this image is intensified when these images are compared, the physical presence, then absence of the sheep are always implicit in Darwell's image. Interview with John Darwell, 08/07/2009 (transcript available on request).

A Green Desert

Presence and absence, indeed the *presence of absence* is a continuous feature of the landscape documentary of Foot and Mouth. During the crisis, the sudden removal of all but a trace of animal life was as much of a palpable physical experience as the sight and smell of carcasses. As the statements already recounted in this chapter suggest, the oppressive silence of the countryside devoid of animals constituted no less of a sinister alteration of lifescape. Ian Geering's project, *The Aftermath*, attempts to capture the complete emptiness of the Cumbrian landscape. As he recalls, "[i]n the Autumn, one could travel from Penrith to Carlisle and not see a single animal".[43] The series constitutes a photographic travelogue, which aimed to visualise the experience of "the whole of the countryside…held in a silent, invisible grip."[44]

Indeed, in April 2001, Terry Kirton, editor of the *West Cumberland Times and Star* stated that Cumbria had become "a green desert".[45] Geering's black and white photographs seem to emphasise this desert; they are empty, without any significant point of focus or action (Figure 10). John Darwell provokes contrasting emotions by literalising Kirton's phrase, and drawing attention to the pleasing abundance of wild flowers that emerged in the summer of 2001, in the absence of grazing animals. Both men picture the open gate, a seemingly innocent but sobering motif, which draws attention to the fact that no rural dweller ever leaves a gate open, except of course, when there is no point in closing it.

This palpable presence of absence is illustrated in the work of Paul Scott (who does not produce photographs but utilises photographic printing on ceramics) to illustrate this presence of absence. *Foot and Mouth: Spodes Milkmaid* (Figure 12) plays upon the idealised pastoral scene, by using the genteel form of willow pattern. However, the cow and sheep in this scene are literally cut from the image; their removal has become a violent physical act. This cut mirrors the action of trauma. It is both the wound and the absence of a

[43] Geering, I, *Foot and Mouth: The Aftermath* (Ashford: Geerings of Ashford, 2002), p.5
[44] Ibid
[45] BBC News Online, "Cumbria a 'green desert'", available at http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/1301411.stm, accessed on 17/04/2009

definable, representable feeling. Scott's *Milkmaid* echoes the contradictory feelings of trauma highlighted by Jill Bennett: "it hurts, I can't feel anything".[46]

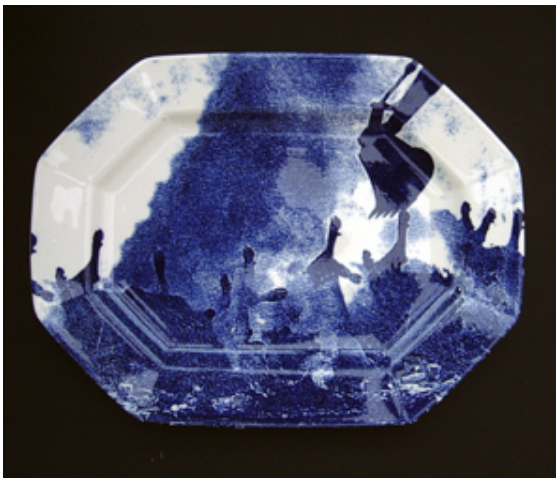


Figure 11: Paul Scott, *Carving Platter*, 2001

Figure 12: Paul Scott, *Foot and Mouth, Spode's Milkmaid*, 2001

The plate suggests the loss of farmers' livelihoods, but also the innately fictitious construction of the rural idyll, in which the rural worker has consistently been cast as a mere prop. In *Carving Platter* (Figure 11), he shows how the imagery Foot and Mouth may have ruined this idea of the idyll, through conflating willow pattern with an image of the pyre reminiscent of Stuart Franklin's press photograph. Scott's work is also important, in that it was exhibited at the Beacon Gallery in Whitehaven in July 2001, alongside (and in comparison to) Beacon's traditional ceramic collection. Scott can be included in the carrier group of commentators actively spreading a message of pain during the epidemic. The warm response displayed in the gallery visitors' book suggests that the public was responsive to this message.[47]

Absence is also a palpable presence in the photographs of the scars left on the landscape by the pits and pyres used to dispose of carcasses. In the photo-book *Aftermath*, Geering's image of the scar left at Great Strickland (Figure 13) is shown opposite a picture of the farmer of those fields, Brian Strong. The scar signifies the emotional state of the man. In a

[46] Bennett, op cit, p.59
[47] "Horror on a plate", in *Cumbria News and Star* (28/07/01), at www.warmwell.com, available at http://www.warmwell.com/warmwellarchive.html, accessed on 07/08/09

Darwell image from later in 2001, a scar is still present, but less noticeable (figure 14). These fields are not linked to any particular individual, but they are also a metaphor. Whatever event produced this scar is receding, but stubbornly refusing to disappear. Just like trauma, it hovers between being beyond expression and being indelible.

Figure 13: Ian Geering, *"Buried ashes of cattle and sheep – all that remains of Brian Strong's stock", Great Strickland, Cumbria*, 2001

Figure 14: John Darwell, *A595 Thursby bypass, five miles west of Carlisle city centre*, 2001

Purging

Brian Strong is just one of a number of people who are pictured in this n body of images. All three photographers built long and strong relationships with various farming families and record how the epidemic ruptured the normality of their lives. Ian Geering tended towards portraits, and the images are taken during the immediate aftermath of the cull. Consequently there is a sense of shock and disorientation in the images. Darwell's and May's projects follow the F.M.D. crisis through to its conclusion and beyond. They record the practical attempts to return to normality, in particular the exhausting and intensive process of cleaning and disinfecting farm premises, so that they could be passed fit for restocking. This cleaning procedure cannot simply be seen as an act of removing the polluting agent, and a step to inevitable recovery. A feeling of un-cleanliness was actually exacerbated by the length, and puritanical thoroughness of the process set out by the Ministry. In *Heart and Soul*, Mary Forster's account of the intensive process enforced by M.A.F.F. after her infected stock had been slaughtered, highlights that disinfection had just

as large an impact upon lifescape (and resulted in psychological effects upon farmers) as infection.

An initial seven weeks of intensive cleaning carried out by two teams of M.A.F.F. employees, dismantled and disinfected all farm machinery and pressure washed all buildings. For Forster, "every day there were different faces around, and again we felt trapped in our own surroundings: people were coming and going oblivious to our existence".[48] However, the results were deemed inadequate by the inspecting M.A.F.F. Animal Health Officer and the Forsters themselves had to carry out further pressure-washing, cementing, removal of any wooden fittings, and even scrubbing gates with steel wool to remove any debris. This procedure engendered a feeling that the well maintained farm was now deemed unacceptable. Yet the process also eroded a sense of continuity and history embedded in the actual physical structure of the farm. As Forster recalled, "for the first time in our lives we were not in charge of decision making on the farm…The old stone buildings which have been white washed for scores of years were not up to standard", and "cobbles on the stable floor which were so much part of the character of the old buildings had to be cemented to get rid of the invisible enemy". [49] The subsequent inspection was carried out with a magnifying glass and the farm was cleared (with the issue of yet another form), but the whole process left Forster feeling impotent, and simultaneously microscopically inspected and invisible.

This process of purging, removed not only the virus but the things that signify personal attachment to a locality; the physical anchors of memory. Materials and items were also re-contextualised; those formerly associated with life-giving (feed buckets, even straw) took on sinister overtones. John Darwell's record shows the seemingly innocent items destroyed at Andy Anderson's farm, such as tables and motor-bikes, both before, and as they are consumed by fire. There are implications of the medieval purge and punishment for an un-stated sin. The bureaucracy of the clean-up process was also inconsistent, with changes to what had to be destroyed prone to rumour. Another image shows that at one point even the top-soil of fields was seen to be a potential harbour for the virus; the land itself had to be

[48] Forster, M, "Mary Forster" entry in Graham, op cit, p.182
[49] Ibid, p.181-2

purged.[50] The emotional effects of this process are suggested by the juxtaposition of two photographs in *Dark Days*. One image shows the inside view of a milking shed, empty of cows, but still retaining the machinery of an activity that practically defines the pastoral, milking. The opposing image shows the shed stripped of these features. Deep scars in the concrete lead the eye to the previously un-noticed windows at the far end. These scars and windows now suggest a face in pain.

Figure 15: Nick May, from *Til' the Cows Come Home*, 2001-2

Figure 16: John Darwell, *Closed picnic site by the M6 motorway*, 2001

Darwell explains that for many the cleaning process will be their last job in agriculture. One caption reads "Redundant shepherd. No sheep = no job = no tied cottage. He has now moved to northern Scotland in search of work", and throughout these photography projects there is an elegiac feeling towards the future of farming in Cumbria.[51] In Nick May's image above the chair becomes a stand in for the occupant who has already disappeared, leaving just a trace in the overalls and Wellington boots (Figure 15). In its prediction of the disappearance of the rural worker there are parallels between this chair and the one in Walker Evans' *Corner of Kitchen in Floyd Burroughs' Cabin, Hale County, Alabama* (1936), and it suggest the same, ultimately futile pride in maintaining standards in a world beyond the individual's control.[52]

[50] This idea of purging is also reflected in another of Darwell's photographs showing a swallow above Home Farm. During the crisis the return of migratory birds was officially deemed a potential source of re-infection, and so nests were removed or nesting sites netted to prevent the birds settling around farm buildings. The swallow, symbol of summer, emphasises that the summer of 2001 was also one in which Cumbria was isolated, even from the cycle of nature.

[51] Darwell (2007), op cit, p.122

[52] We may also suggest a link to Jean Baudrillard's chair in *Saint Beuve* (1987). In Baudrillard's image the chair becomes stand in for the figure, to suggest that the portrait will always become a mask hiding reality, rather than revealing it. The shape held within the chair becomes all we can be sure of: that there *has been* a

A Silent Politics

To record pain is always a political act.[53] Yet all three of these photographers have avoided overtly polemical statements. Whether recording the empty landscape, or picturing individuals, titles and captions simply state facts, rather than dogma (even when those individuals' own word are recorded).[54] It is not overtly stated whether these images lament the effects of the disease, or are a direct criticism of the policy used to control that disease. John Darwell's *Closed picnic site by the M6 motorway* (Figure 16), shows tables nestling in a wooded enclosure through a mesh of blue police tape. The inference is that some sort of crime has been committed, but there are no overt conclusions about the wisdom of the contiguous cull policy; it merely records the practical implications of that policy on everyday life.[55]

Yet strong political opinions are captured in the protest signs that appeared on farm gates and bio-security barriers during the crisis, which themselves became sites of active political protest. This though, is silent protest; the voice of the Cumbrian farmer is deferred to the sign, and then channelled through the photographer.[56] Needless to say, the documentary photographer sets out to uncover the hidden and to speak for the overlooked. However, this does infer that the Cumbrian community is unable to express its own suffering. We may come dangerously close to presuming that Cumbrian farmers submitted to their fate as passively as their livestock, bar the odd choice word on a placard (especially as many farmers' accounts include phrases such as "we went down with it on…" or "we were taken out by it"). So we may be enticed to see all farmers as Chris Graham seems to be portrayed by Pål Hansen: as a crucified northern male with the dust of his livelihood running through his fingers.

---

presence. Again, if the figure is a traumatised one, this becomes rather an apt metaphor: what is represented is the effect of trauma, the feeling, not trauma itself.

[53] It infers that something is wrong, that something should be done.

[54] For instance, Geering's photograph of Brian Strong is accompanied by the quote "it took MAFF eight days to remove my stock to the pyre site". It is making a political criticism, but it is a statement of fact rather than opinion. Geering, op cit, p.50

[55] There is also something of an environmentalist undercurrent in Darwell's record, an extension of previous projects such as *Legacy* (1998) and *By Association* (1995-1999).

[56] In fact, one of Darwell's images records a man in a car that has pulled up to the photographer. The accompanying caption quotes "I'm glad you're photographing this as no-one would believe it otherwise". Darwell (2007), op cit, p.57.

It would be tempting to slip into some convenient cultural stereotypes here, of Cumbrian agricultural men facing tragedy in stoical silence, in contrast to strong, vociferous northern matriarchs, or militant industrial workers. Even in literature by local writers, such as Melvyn Bragg or Sarah Hall, it seems accepted that the Cumbrian farmer *is* silent, *is* part of the landscape.[57] Certainly, much of the political protest, and support networks, engendered by Foot and Mouth coalesced around women, such as Deborah Cowin, Pat Thompson or Caz Graham. In addition, this rural crisis obviously failed to raise anywhere near the active political militancy associated with recent industrial and urban crises.[58] However, this would be an unfair portrayal. Farmer Robert Fawcett appeared on television repeatedly as an outspoken critic of government policy, and livery owner John Collier was mere hours away from achieving a complete blockage of the M6 motorway in protest at how policy was crippling both tourist and farming interests (a protest that scared Defra into making concessions about animal movements).[59] The lack of depictions of political agency in F.M.D. imagery is not due to some innate submissiveness in Cumbrian farmers, but because Government policy left Cumbrian communities in general disenfranchised and impotent. Foot and Mouth worked to reinforce the framework in which the rural and northern inevitably had to submit to the dominant superiority of the urban, the centralised and the southern.

The programme of disease control was total (disrupting every aspect of life), bureaucratically impersonal, and rode roughshod over local inhabitants opinions. Projection and control models developed in Ministry think-tanks were given absolute priority over systems of local knowledge developed over generations, often with disastrous results. As

[57] Hall's *Haweswater* may metaphorically allude to F.M.D. Hall, S, *Haweswater* (London: Faber & Faber, 2002).However, her portrayal of Cumbrian stereotypes seems to be an ironic comment on those stereotypes, in the vein of many postmodern realist novels.
[58] Most obviously, in the case of the Miners strike of 1984-5. Yet imagery that suggests acquiescence and silence is not confined to Cumbria. The Devon photography of Chris Chapman, and the Eskleyside Community film *Shroves*, set in Herefordshire, both locate the agricultural male as a silent actor within the tragedy of F.M.D. In *Shroves* this is vividly set against proactive female characters. So rather than the *northern* rural male that is specifically acquiescent to his victim-hood, it is the *rural* male in general.
[59] Graham, op cit, p.151

one commentator pointed out, "they may be experts but they know nowt".[60] This understandably led to the widely held perception of an uncaring, incompetent and distant Government. A local vet suggested, "The people in London…didn't appreciate, or they didn't want to know, whatever way it was they let us down".[61] The Government concessions regarding the crisis, such as the postponement of the 2001 general election and the removal of Agriculture Minister Nick Brown, were seen as political manoeuvring, and official releases were regarded as little more than misinformation or propaganda.[62] Mort et al suggest that this left a fundamental loss of faith in governance, which has been a prominent feature of the traumatic experience of Foot and Mouth. As one farmer stated, "They have no credibility in my eyes now, because I know what they used to say to the press in London and what was actually going on in reality up here".[63] Furthermore, the idea that the crisis in Cumbria was misunderstood or overlooked was extended to the press, and the wider public:

> "*I tend to think that the national press regarded Cumbria as a forgotten area...There were reports in the national news but not as much as Devon. People in, in cities, I, I think they're pretty clueless really what goes on in, in the countryside, they're so removed from the way you live*".[64]

Such feelings towards bureaucracy are the subject of Nick May's image from *'Til the Cows Come Home* below (Figure 17). The livestock pyre is replaced with a bonfire (possibly of fixtures to be disposed of after the disinfection of farm premises), upon which is an effigy dressed in the bio-security overalls of the M.A.F.F. official.

---

[60] Brough Sandiford, P, "Farmers / Writers: 'They may be experts but they know nowt'", in Döring, M & Nerlich, B, *The Social and Cultural Impact of Foot-and Mouth Disease in the UK in 2001: Experiences and Analyses* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 2009), p.37-50

[61] Convery et al (2008), op cit, p.98

[62] This may tie into pre-conceived notions of the northern rural expression. In Dave Russell's comparison of northerners' and southerners' perceptions of each other, and themselves, the northerner is often seen as deliberate and considered in communication, in opposition to a garrulous, but vague Southerner. See Russell, D, *Looking North: Northern England and the National Imagination* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), p.37

[63] Convery et al (2008), op cit, p.59

[64] Ibid, p.98

Figure 17: Nick May, from *Til' the Cows Come Home*, 2001-2

Although the actual protester is absent some quite radical associations emerge in this image. There may be an (inverted) association with the Gunpowder Plot and a call for democracy, but also an association with effigy burning as protest that has become the simplistic signifier for radicalism in global news coverage (and thus returns us to the war metaphors identified in the previous chapter). All set in a quintessential English rural panorama reminiscent of Constable.

Subtle Manipulation: A Political Surrealism

There is an absurdity in Darwell's *Closed picnic site by the M6 motorway*: the strings of tape cannot contain the virus, or physically bar picnickers. There is also a certain air of Englishness; the country ritual of the picnic, and the faith in a polite willingness to obey a countryside code taken to its extreme. Englishness and absurdity come together as they do in much documentary photography, to give a slightly surreal quality.

Susan Sontag suggested that photography is by its nature surrealist, "in the creation of a duplicate world, of a reality in the second degree, narrower but more dramatic than the one perceived by natural vision".[65] Andy Grundberg has responded that the capturing of the uncanny, odd juxtapositions or the revealing of a strange reality is not necessarily Surrealist in its strictest terms.[66] Surrealism was a movement of a particular time, impossible to detach from its specific historical and social contingencies. It had a political mission to question the nature of bourgeois reality and open up a space for the expression of the

[65] Sontag, S, *On Photography* (London: Penguin 1979), p.52
[66] Grundberg, A, "On the Dissection Table: The Unnatural Coupling of Surrealism and Photography", in Squiers, C (Ed), *Over-Exposed: Essays on Contemporary Photography* (New York: The New Press, 1999), p.130.

unconscious; to include both the rational and irrational in modernity within the sphere of reality.[67] The concern of contemporary photography is not the surreal but the simulation, as evident in the photographs of British tourism by Martin Parr or Paul Reas. Nevertheless Parr does follow a trend of combining Englishness, strangeness and absurdity that runs through British documentary.[68] Yet as Ian Walker suggests, it is less a case of identifying a directly Surrealist urge in these images, than seeing them as spaces in which certain impulses come together, one of which is surrealist.[69] There seems to be a similar, politically inflected impulse in some of the images of F.M.D.; they highlight hidden realities by drawing attention to the absurd, incongruous or sinister.

A contrast is drawn between the logic of the biosecurity policy, and the actual chaotic consequences of that policy.[70] A seemingly rational measure is shown taken to obsession, leading to an irrational and disproportionate level of destruction. When taken alongside the simultaneous existence of overbearing bureaucracy and government blunders, we have a contrast of the irrational within the seemingly rational. Another contrast is that of the normal and the distinctly abnormal. It is here that a feeling of surreality may emerge.[71] J.H. Matthews proposed that the main value of surrealism is the introduction of the marvellous into everyday experience, and many of these images derive their power not only through the startling features, but how these contrast with the decidedly mundane.[72] In some ways this is inevitable. Photographers were restricted by biosecurity, so they took their images *from* the normal world *into* the world radically altered by disaster. Often though, they show those spaces and moments in which those realms cross, such as Darwell's *Brow Nelson*,

---

[67] Bate, D, *Photography and Surrealism: Sexuality, Colonialism and Social Dissent* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2004), p.1-20

[68] This trend runs from the practitioners of the 1930s (who *were* directly influenced by Surrealism) through Tony Ray-Jones and Homer Sykes.

[69] Walker, I, *So Exotic, So Homemade: Surrealism, Englishness and Documentary Photography* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), p.7

[70] The policy of controlling F.M.D. through contiguous cull has its roots in the efforts to control Rinderpest in the early 1700s. Breeze, R, "Dark Days", in Darwell (2007), op cit, p.5. Over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries it became embedded. It reflected the attitudes of a rational, modern society towards disease (and the wider natural world): that it could be classified, controlled and eradicated if necessary.

[71] This may be accentuated by the aesthetics of the image. Darwell's use of medium format camera renders more detail than the human eye, and results in a *strangely vivid* reality. Similar disruptions to normal vision happen in May's use of the wide angle panorama or Geering's monochrome.

[72] Matthews, J.H, *The Imagery of Surrealism* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1977), p.256

which derives its power from the juxtaposition of the everyday and extraordinary, and the seen and unseen.

The third contrast is between the putative notions of what the Cumbrian landscape is assumed to be and the realities of that space. So alongside subtly altered representations of picturesque Lakeland, there are pictures of banal spaces in the Eden Valley or North Cumbria: roadsides, lay-bys and unremarkable fields. Instead of the natural sublime we are shown spaces that are obviously sites of tourist consumption. Rather than reproducing the feeling of physical freedom and fresh air, there is claustrophobia and restricted access, or the view through the car window. So together, these images use a politically inflected surrealism and various contrasts to highlight the chaos of F.M.D. and question the contemporary relevance of the traditional idyll.

Jacque-André Boiffard's photographs in Andre Breton's novel *Nadja*, draw attention to the surreal in the everyday. These are photographs that do not mark an event, but an unremarkable empty space, perhaps the scene of an event after that scene has been subsumed back into normality. As Michel Beaujour described them:

> "*What we are shown is nothing…These photographs almost empty of human presence, proceed from a zero-ground of representation: they never move away from the amateur's snapshot or out of date picture postcard…their banality is less a result of the photographer's lack of skill than his will not to inflect the shot, not to make it say more than the eye of the savant has taken in*".[73]

These words could be used to describe Ian Geering's landscapes. His images of the lower Eden Valley reflect neither the idealised picturesque, nor a site of obvious drama, merely unremarkable empty fields (Figures 18 and 19). However, the accompanying captions imply that they might have been sites of destruction.[74] They have the sinister surrealism of Boiffard's images; unpopulated, seemingly ordered and banal, but bearing the intangible trace of catastrophe. Or rather, almost tangible; the shadows and tyre imprints that seep across the foreground suggest the mark, or stain of an event. This event has not been

[73] Beaujour, M, "Qu'est-ce que Nadja?", in *N.R.F. No.172* (April 1967), p.797-8, cited in Ades D, "Photography and the Surrealist Text", in Krauss, R & Livingston, J (Eds), *L'Amour Fou: Photography and Surrealism* (London: Hayward Gallery, 1986), p.163

[74] I refer to the captions that appeared in exhibition and in his photo-book *The Aftermath.*

subsumed back into normality but has left us with the not quite normal; normal but with the trace of something that hovers just beyond perception. The landscape has become sinister and threatening, but is also wounded, the scene of a crime.

Figure 18: Ian Geering, *Penrith, Cumbria*, 2001. "Cattle and sheep were either slaughtered in the fields…"

Figure 19: Ian Geering, *Penrith Cumbria*, 2001. "…or gathered from the fields and slaughtered in farm buildings."

In Darwell's empty fields, redundant feed troughs become surreal, ungainly mechanical stand-ins for now absent animals (Figure 20). They seem to have been caught unawares, snapped surreptitiously from behind bushes and hedges. There is also a sense of strangeness and absurdity in the photographs of the re-opening of some of Cumbria's fells on June the 10th 2001. Some show the disembodied legs of fell runners as they leap onto the hills, which may put us in mind of those absurd leaps into space of Yves Klein or Henri Cartier-Bresson.[75] One image shows the empty chairs of the National Trust workers who guarded access to the fells throughout the crisis, now called to deal with a mêlée of returning visitors (Figure 21). Like the feed troughs these chairs become stand-ins for their absent occupants, but they may also remind us of photographs showing the absurd English urge to picnic in strange locations, from Tony Ray-Jones' *Glyndebourne* of 1968 to Simon Roberts' *Fountains Fell* of 2008 (or indeed Darwell's own *Picnic site by the M6 motorway*), and the quirky resolution to maintain order and standards in times of crisis. These photographs draw attention to Cumbria as a thoroughly commercialised tourist

[75] Specifically of Cartier-Bresson's *Paris, Gare St. Lazare*, of 1932.

space; the biological and cultural sanitisation of the rural space go hand in hand.[76] While celebratory of the fervour with which the fells were re-embraced, they also remind the viewer that many other parts of Cumbria were still suffering restrictions and crisis.

Figure 20: John Darwell, *Feed troughs* 2001

Figure 21: John Darwell, *Opening Weekend*, 2001

The feeling of surreal incongruity between the rational and the irrational, and the everyday and the marvellous engendered by these images parallels the way that Jill Bennett suggest that affect can work in conveying trauma. For Bennett, trauma may be "translated" when common memory and sense memory are brought together, not so that the latter can be integrated into the former, but so that the (often conflicting) relationship of the two can conjure new insights into the incongruous experience of trauma.[77] Common memory can be seen as the embedded set of cultural assumptions by which we make sense of the world: rationality, order, the idealised rural, etc. By contrast, sense memory is the physically felt memory engendered by trauma: fear, depression, claustrophobia, or panic. The uncomfortable relationship between common and sense memory emerges in landscapes such as Ian Geering's images of Penrith. Culturally accepted notions of what landscape means are undercut by a feeling of indefinable discomfort about what may have happened on that site.

[76] The idea that access to the tourist space is prioritised over the realities facing by rural dwellers is given a distasteful twist in one image from September 2001 showing tourists having their photographs taken beside a "Foot and Mouth Keep Out" sign at Hadrian's Wall. That the crisis itself may have become a photo opportunity draws attention to the self-critical nature of the documentary of crisis.
[77] Bennett, op cit, p.24-6

Dark Humour, and Recovery

As well as serious political comment, there is hint of dark humour in some of these images. Incongruity is after all, a feature both of the surreal and humour. As Simon Critchley points out, the joke (visual or otherwise) "suddenly and explosively lets us see the familiar defamiliarised, the ordinary made extraordinary and the real rendered surreal".[78] Trauma and humour are not mutually exclusive, and a vein of exasperated comedy runs through the accounts of Foot and Mouth, as illustrated by Colin Shelbourn's cartoons that appeared in the *Westmorland Gazette* throughout the crisis. Humour is a strategy of protection. As Freud suggested, it acts to relegate the overwhelming to the inconsequential; a way of inflating the threatened ego, so that it can claim victory over the injustices of the world.[79]

Humour may well also have a communal role in the process of therapeutic gathering: a factor in the "stage of euphoria", as the community proves that it still exists despite adversity.[80] Jokes rely on a set of shared meanings, so they underscore what binds a community together. In these circumstances humour is also inherently political; it shows us something that has deviated from this shared set of meanings. For Critchley humour may thus be a call to action, by "showing us that this is the world – flawed, but…open for us to change.[81]

John Darwell's photograph of the re-opening of Penrith Market in September 2001 (Figure 22) makes a clear political comment about the contemporary value of livestock (and perhaps how the reality of the pastoral is masked by the fiction of the ideal), but also contains a surreally inflected dark humour. Of course Darwell did not create this joke; he merely recorded it.[82] This stallholder has set up an incongruity between message and situation. As Critchley suggests, jokes are "anti rites. They mock, parody or deride the

[78] Critchley, S, *On Humour, 7th Edition* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008), p.10
[79] Freud, S, "Humour", in Morreall, John, *The Philosophy of Laughter and Humour* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1987), p.114. In the blackest, self deprecating humour, it may even signify the victory of the super-ego, demonstrating the ability to laugh even at the ego; a protective manoeuvre to belittle even those attempts of the ego to overcome adversity, and thus relegate those events to the *absolutely* inconsequential.
[80] Wallace, A.F.C., *Tornado in Worcester: Disaster Study 3* (Washington D.C.: National Academy of Sciences, 1957), p.127, cited in Erikson, op cit, p.189
[81] Critchley, op cit, pp.17-19
[82] The photograph frames the stall conventionally, in a simple act of transferring information.

ritual practices of a given society".[83] The ritual practices appropriate to the re-opening of the market are either those of mourning, or celebration, both of which are undermined by the joke. Freud's analysis of humour extends to the spectator as well. We expect victim-hood to release certain signs of affect (despair, horror, pain), and as spectators we prepare ourselves to empathise. This expectation engenders discomfort, which the joke can dissipate.[84] The joke then, may potentially lower the boundaries between victim and observer in the process of therapeutic gathering.

Figure 22: John Darwell, *Penrith Market*, 2001

Such instances of humour do not mean that all Cumbrian communities were recovering from Foot and Mouth. Darwell's images of Penrith Market contrast with others showing empty fields, and the continuation of bio-security measures well into November 2001. These measures actually continued in some areas until early 2002, preventing restocking and a return to normal life. The traumatic effects also lingered. Yet all the time the crisis was fading from public view. Darwell's innocuous but stubborn scar in the landscape at Thursby, taken late in 2001, provides a metaphor for the increasingly hidden, but still present trauma of the crisis (Figure 14). It also seems to allude to the way that Foot and Mouth was being forgotten in the popular consciousness; how despite the lasting scars in Cumbrian communities, the wider public wished to get on with enjoying the landscape.

Darwell and May end their projects on different notes. The final image of *Dark Days* was taken in January 2002, and is a clear visual eulogy, with the caption: "For Sale signs on

[83] Critchley, op cit, p.5
[84] Freud, op cit, p.112

previously infected farm". It records the practical fallout of the long months of financial hardship. However, this image actually shows one "for sale" sign and one corresponding "sold". The poignant detail beneath the latter is the additional paper sign which suggests "Barns to convert". The eulogy is for Cumbrian farming in general and it underlines how F.M.D. accelerated, and revealed the squeezing out of agricultural interests by those of tourism. May's project, by contrast ends on an optimistic, but realistic note. As suggested by the title, *'Til the Cows Come Home* it ends with images of restocking, and farmers once again enjoying the social ritual of the livestock market: a community reunited (Figure 23). There is a reassuring and restorative aim to the project. Yet it also suggests that Cumbrian agriculture will have to adapt to survive and further embrace sustainability and diversification into tourism. Both photographers then, suggest not only the emotional scars left on Cumbrian communities and landscapes, but also those realities of the Cumbrian rural economy revealed by Foot and Mouth.

Figure 23: Nick May, from *Til' the Cows Come Home*, 2001-2

Landscape and Trauma

Kai Erikson states "it is the *damage done* that defines and gives shape to the traumatic event, the *damage done* that gives it its name".[85] The images of Ian Geering, Nick May and John Darwell show the damage done, but what they show is not lost income, or even the "waste of a lifetime's work". They show the damage of isolation, a loss of tradition and continuity, a loss of faith in government, and a changed way of looking at surroundings. This damage also happens in the physical space of the landscape, rather than in ledgers or bank accounts. Indeed, the landscape itself suffers physical harm. This damaged landscape

[85] Erikson, op cit, p.184

is the physical site of trauma, but also acts as a symbol for the rupture in the relationship between human, animal and lived space.

We have to accept that this is a limited picture. What is predominantly shown is the suffering of those involved in farming, rather than those involved in tourism or any other rural business, who also had their lives irrevocably changed. In the main these projects set out to show the effects of F.M.D. on the agricultural community, but that does not mean that they do not refer to the trauma felt by others. If some of Darwell's imagery shows a sardonic attitude to tourism, it is to highlight that much of Cumbria beyond the Lakes was definitely not "open for business", and that F.M.D continued to affect both farming and tourism in these areas. If they display an elegiac attitude towards agriculture it is because F.M.D. revealed to these photographers, as much as anyone else the realities facing farming communities, but they also highlight the isolating effects of disease containment, which apply to all sections of those communities.

Furthermore, these are subjective records from the outside; self critical acts of observation. They are the records of three photographers experiencing what it is like to be in a landscape suddenly made alien. So, these images do not try to represent the trauma of Foot and Mouth, they attempt to translate it. They do this by providing evidence of the effects of F.M.D. on the landscape and its inhabitants, through symbolic reference to our idea of the bucolic, and through rendering the pictorial landscape as a physically experienced space. However, these images cannot be taken in isolation. That act of translation is inflected by the arena in which it is broadcast, and also a wider context established by other documents relating to Foot and Mouth. As such, they must be examined alongside the other ways that the trauma of F.M.D. has been culturally constructed.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Crisis as Trauma in Word and Image

> *"It is impossible now, after the images of the burning of the beasts and the broken hearted stories of loss, not to fear that the old lure and ideal of the countryside has been damaged…It is as if the countryside lost its innocence".*[1]

The disease epidemic is a complex type of disaster. The last case of Foot and Mouth infection occurred on the 30th of September 2001, some seven months after the beginning of the epidemic.[2] The sheer length of the crisis no doubt contributed to its traumatic effects.[3] However, by September 2001 some farmers and tourist businesses had begun the process of getting back to normality. So unlike the catastrophic *event*, communities felt the full effects of F.M.D. at different times. The progress of the disease meant that its effects were met with different emotions: sometimes complete shock, sometimes after the growing dread of expectation. The intense media coverage of the crisis also meant that it was already beginning to be contextualised way before it had ended. Therefore, during the epidemic, suffering, the allocation of blame, putting the crisis into context and recovery were all occurring simultaneously across Cumbria.

Yet even if the practical causes were gradually removed, and various social agents were willing to analyse the crisis, the traumatic effects lingered. As one Cumbrian vicar pointed out "this has been a bereavement for individuals and communities. You have got to look at a minimum of two years to work through it."[4] As Kai Erikson has suggested, during the negotiation of trauma, "our memory repeats to us what we haven't yet come to terms with,

---

[1] Bragg, M, "Forward", in Adams, C (Ed), *Love, Labour and Loss: 300 Years of British Livestock Farming in Art* Exhibition catalogue (Carlisle: Tullie House Museum and Art Gallery, 2002), p.7

[2] This case was near Appleby, and the last UK region to regain F.M.D. free status was Northumberland on the 14th of January 2002.

[3] Convery , I, Mort, M, Baxter, J, Bailey, C, *Animal Disease and Human Trauma: Emotional Geographies of Disaster* (London: Palgrave, 2008), p.152

[4] Ibid, p.105

what still haunts us".[5] Indeed, for those experiencing trauma the past may continually recur in the present, collapsing the divide between memory and actual experience.

This is not through a lack of effort to put the crisis into context; to "come to terms" with it. Foot and Mouth has been dissected along a broad cultural front: in the press; official reports and inquiries, academic studies; unofficial accounts and diaries; poetry and literature, and of course the landscape photography discussed here. The process of contextualisation began with the first cases of the disease and continues.[6] Inevitably, this means that this front has not always conveyed a coherent or complete picture of the crisis, leading to confusion over what the crisis actually meant. Often the effects of traumatic events linger precisely because those events appear to have no meaning; they remain impossible to put into an understandable narrative. John Law and Vicky Singleton suggest that the effects of F.M.D. may linger because it gave rise to so many records, memoirs and reports; because it suffered from too much meaning.[7]

This flood of analyses also means that the functions of informing, analysing and memorialising have become increasingly difficult to separate. Just as attempts to define and explain the crisis may be contested so how it is remembered may be met with ambivalence. In fact, rather than seeing the process of trauma as a simple one of experience, negotiation and recovery we might see it as an ongoing process wracked with contestation. For Neil Smelser this is typical of communal traumas. Instead of recovery,

> "*a more appropriate model would be one of constant, recurrent struggle – moments of quiescence perhaps, when some convincing formula for coming to terms with it takes root, but flarings-up when new constellations of new social forces and agents stir up the troubling memory again*".[8]

---

[5] Erikson, K, "Notes on Trauma and Community", in Caruth, C (Ed), *Trauma: Explorations in Memory* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1995), p.184

[6] For instance, Convery et al, op cit, and Döring, M and Nerlich,, B (Eds), *The Social and Cultural Impact of Foot-and-Mouth Disease in the UK in 2001: Experiences and Analyses* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009)

[7] Law, J and Singleton, V, "Disaster: a Further Species of Trouble? Disaster and Narrative" in Döring and Nerlich, op cit, p.236

[8] Smelser, N, "Psychological Trauma and Cultural Trauma" in Alexander et al, *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), p.42

In the case of Foot and Mouth, one of those "forces" was the rediscovery of the virus near Guildford in 2007, which immediately brought the imagery, analyses, and memories of 2001 into the present.[9] It also appeared that there was little deeper appreciation of the suffering of F.M.D. than there had been six years previously.[10] Yet between 2001 and 2007 the landscapes of Ian Geering, Nick May and John Darwell had been exhibited extensively in Cumbria, and were viewed by an audience informed by the conclusions of reports and academic studies which had examined the fallout of 2001. This chapter examines how and when these images were shown, and some of the responses to that display. Those responses suggest a far from unified acceptance that the crisis was a traumatic event. It also looks at the picture of Cumbria we are left with after Foot and Mouth. It returns to Liz Wells' proposal that the images of F.M.D. may have changed the contemporary view of the countryside and farming's place within it: a "revolution in pastoral idealism".[11]

Changes

The successful labelling of a group as traumatised changes that group's identity. Yet F.M.D. brought very real changes, which also affected identity. For some, employment status changed; businesses folded or diversified, and individuals changed jobs. There were also lasting psychological effects such as shock, depression, thoughts of suicide, loss of concentration and interest, recurrent thoughts and flashbacks, which hindered the return to life before the crisis.[12] A crisis like F.M.D. also affects social networks, and cultural traditions. Ways of life that were assumed to be somewhat self-contained were revealed to be influenced by wider forces. In terms of Richard Jenkins' process of identification, the

[9] Foot and Mouth obviously went on to dominate newspaper stories again for a few weeks. However, it has been suggested that the more disturbing and sensationalist images of 2001 did not emblazon front pages at the beginning of the 2007 outbreak, and were usually found in the centre pages of newspapers. Abel, C, "Foot and mouth: the newspapers verdict", in *Farmers Weekly* online (04/08/2007), at http://www.fwi.co.uk/Articles/2007/08/04/105711/Foot-and-mouth-The-newspapers39-verdict.htm, accessed 03/03/2011.

[10] Although Defra was more receptive to the notion of vaccination, this outbreak still led to the destruction of livestock, and an essentially unchanged control policy. In Cumbria, there may have been little sense that the lessons of 2001 had been learned.

[11] Wells, L, "Darkening Days: A Critical Scenario in Three Acts", in Darwell, J, *Dark Days* (Stockport: Dewi Lewis, 2007), p.13

[12] Convery et al, p.89

border between the internal and the external became both very porous, and extremely active.

For many farmers there was also a threat to the sense of being connected to tradition. There was a rupture, on both a practical and symbolic level, in the relationship between man and animal. The destruction of whole herds of livestock meant the loss of "bloodlines" and a sense of continuity. As one F.M.D. report surmised, "in a way, the family biography, lived out through the stock, was brought to an end".[13] This undermined farmers' sense of identity. It also affected their identity in relation to the community. It undermined their inherited knowledge, which may have in spanned generations. This knowledge is essential in the rituals of the livestock market. Trading is a communal interaction, with social and economic benefits, but also reinforces status, knowledge, and a sense of tradition. One such ritualistic display is the practice of "kenning the stock", by which buyers cast an eye over the animals for sale and assess their worth by expertise and a tacit knowledge of genealogy. It is an act of social positioning that was critically undermined by F.M.D. The unknown stock brought into Cumbria by the re-stocking process could not be kenned; farmers had to pay the asking price fully aware that a lifetime of knowledge was useless. While the process of restocking *was* a communally recuperative process, many farmers also felt that the new animals were not "their stock".[14]

The process of restocking itself also had lasting communal effects. The divisive effects of the compensation awarded to "standing" and "culled out" farmers (and what people chose to do with it) caused permanent divisions within communities.[15] Other changes at the individual level also altered identity at the communal level. The bureaucracy and insensitivity of the Ministry during the crisis led to a rising mistrust of officialdom, and a generally held perception of being ignored and marginalised by a centralised government, which was held by farmers, tourist operators and other rural community members alike.

---

[13] Bennett, K, Carroll, T, Lowe, P, Phillipson, J, *Coping with Crisis in Cumbria: Consequences of Foot and Mouth Disease*, p.9 [Executive Summary], available at http://www.ncl.ac.uk/cre/publish/pdfs/rr02.01a.pdf, accessed 23/03/2009

[14] BBC Radio Cumbria, *A Sense of Place,* Programme 3: "The Truth about Sheep", Spring 2002, at http://www.bbc.co.uk/cumbria/sense_of_place/sense_of_place_2.shtml, accessed 22/01/2008

[15] Hillyard, S, "Farmers and valuers: divisions and divisiveness and the social cost of FMD – a sociological analysis", in Döring & Nerlich, op cit, pp.81-94

This actually served to reinforce local rural identity as opposite to a metropolitan and southern other; it reinforced a shared identity based around a feeling of marginalisation.[16] This was bolstered by the new social networks that arose because of the crisis, based on the telephone, internet or local media. Indeed one lasting change brought about by Foot and Mouth was the interlinking of local, physically bounded communities with virtual ones.

As Kai Erikson suggests, those who experience trauma do not only experience a "changed sense of self and a changed way of relating to others but a changed worldview".[17] Agricultural communities had to reconsider their place in the world. F.M.D. raised questions about what the public expect from the food production infrastructure. It also vividly revealed the networks that dominated the Cumbrian economy, the place of agriculture and tourism in those networks, and how it could be influenced by official policy. F.M.D. also provoked calls for changes within agriculture, highlighting the need for sustainability and stewardship, a focus on food quality, local markets and minimising environmental impact.[18] Crises such as B.S.E. had already forced many farmers to change to quality food interests, and to diversify, particularly into tourism and accommodation. Foot and Mouth, and the press and official responses placed further emphasis on both tourism and responsible farming. Consequently, in the words of one farmer, "country people have come to the conclusion that they have to keep the countryside spick and span for townspeople to enjoy on a Sunday".[19]

Words

Such changes have emerged through the outpouring of accounts and evaluations of Foot and Mouth, within which the idea that the crisis constituted a communal trauma gradually coalesced. This flood began in the press: the idea of trauma hovering within an ambiguous picture of the cause, effects and victims of the crisis. Yet despite the ambivalence of the press coverage, by the end of summer 2001 the word "trauma" started to make an appearance in reports, and bodies such as the charity Mind were explicitly discussing the

[16] Convery et al, p.59
[17] Erikson, op cit, p.194
[18] Particularly the Curry report: Curry, D, *Farming and Food: A Sustainable Future* (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 2002), cited in Hillyard, S, *The Sociology of Rural Life* (Oxford: Berg, 2007), p.73-5
[19] Convery et al, op cit, p.59

long term mental health impact of F.M.D. This increasing acknowledgement of trauma was augmented by documents such as Radio Cumbria's *Foot and Mouth: Heart and Soul*, and by the end of 2001 the notion of trauma had started to become firmly attached to the epidemic.[20] From the beginning of 2002 the number of written accounts of the crisis increased exponentially. There were personal memoirs, such as Quita Allender's *Fields of Fire*, and lengthy journalistic investigations into the official mishandling of the crisis, such as Judith Cook's *The Year of the Pyres*.[21] The latter mirrors the focus of the many reports and inquiries that were carried out from early in 2002, which though they appeared to accept that F.M.D. *was* traumatic, provide little investigation into why or how.[22] The focus tended towards the devastation of rural economies, highlighting the mistakes made by the Ministry, recommendations for how the rural economy could recover and how to avoid such mistakes recurring in future. They served to pinpoint the focus of blame in the public's mind, and outline the economic effects of Foot and Mouth, yet they tended to be inconclusive about what should be done with these conclusions. Far from giving answers and alleviating pain, they may have left a feeling of unfinished business, and added to it.

As Sam Hillyard has pointed out the F.M.D. outbreak of 2001 has also received an extraordinary amount of academic attention for a rural issue.[23] However it was not until late 2004, when Maggie Mort et al's findings became available on the Lancaster University

---

[20] The *explicit* claiming of the experience as a communal trauma arises only fleetingly in the book, but it does provide a great many personal recollections of hardship and emotional suffering.

[21] Allender, Q, *Fields of Fire* (Star, Somerset, Allender, 2002), Cook, J, *The Year of the Pyres: the 2001 Foot-and-Mouth Epidemic* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 2002). See also Staley, R, and Boughton, I (Eds), *Reflections on the Foot and Mouth Crisis, 2001* (Vine Press, Newport, 2002), Leaney, S, *Diary of a Farming Wife: One Woman's View of the Foot and Mouth Crisis* (Cardiff: Whitchurch, 2002), Johnson, N, *Cleave: The Debatable Lands - The Epoch of Foot and Mouth in North and West Devon* (Exbourne, Devon: Etruscan books, 2002), a dramatised account, Morgan, G, *Silencing of Our Lambs, The: The Foot and Mouth Epidemic* (Ponterwyd: MGM Publishing, 2002), and in 2005, Barrah, D, *Through My Eyes: The Inside Story of the 2001 Foot and Mouth Crisis* (Poole: Timebox Press, 2005).

[22] There were three government sponsored inquiries organized in August 2001. These consisted of one chaired by Dr. Iain Anderson, looking into the lessons to be learned from the handling of the epidemic, one chaired by Sir Brian Follett, specifically examining the control of infectious diseases in livestock, and one chaired by Sir Don Curry, looking into the future of farming and food production. Anderson, I, *Lessons to be Learned Enquiry* (London, HMSO, 2002), Follet Report, *Infectious Diseases in Livestock* (London: Report of the Royal Society Inquiry, 2002) and Curry, D, *Farming and Food – A Sustainable Future* (London: HMSO, 2002).

[23] Hillyard (2007), op cit, p.67. Nerlich, B, Hamilton, C.A, & Rowe, V, "Conceptualising Foot and Mouth Disease: The Socio-Cultural Role of Metaphors, Frames and Narratives", published at *metaphorik.de* (February 2002), p.92 – http://www.metaphorik.de/02nerlich.htm, accessed on 02/06/2008

website that the 2001 outbreak was specifically investigated as a communal trauma. These findings became the subject of papers in the *British Medical Journal* and the *Journal of Rural Studies* in 2005, and a book, *Animal Disease and Human Trauma* in 2008. In 2009 a number of other studies examining the traumatic aspects F.M.D. were collected in Nerlich and Döring's *The Social and Cultural Impact of Foot-and Mouth Disease in the UK in 2001*.

Academia though, has one significant limitation is broadcasting a message of trauma: its texts have a relatively small audience, mostly comprising of other academics. Yet it also has significant power: the Foucauldian privilege of "the expert".[24] It is experts that contextualise crises, and their conclusions often filter down into common perception. Even if they do not explicitly set out to do so, they outline Jeffrey Alexander's four points that make up the message of trauma: "what", "who", "by whom", and "what relevance does this have to everyone else"?[25] This message may, of course, be resisted. We might suggest that sheep farmers, who (stereotypically) have an independent, isolated and very practical and self-sufficient lifestyle, may be resistant to being pathologised as "victim" or "trauma sufferer". However, compared to the expert, they have little power over how they are seen by the wider audience. Once the message of trauma is established, a group may contest the idea of trauma, but they do so within a discourse that is already *about* trauma. There is also the impact of Richard Jenkins' virtual processes of identification: the practical implications of naming a crisis as trauma.[26] Experts' conclusions inevitably include practical suggestions about crisis relief or policy changes. If these suggestions are taken up by government or N.G.O.s then people will have their lives affected by these practical measures, whether they like it or not.

Mort et al took such considerations into account. Rather than an overarching vision of trauma imposed from outside, their study was based in the diary accounts of those

[24] Said, E, "Opponents, Audiences, Constituencies", in Foster, H (Ed), *Postmodern Culture* (London: Pluto, 1985), p.137-8
[25] Experts may name the group specifically, as "traumatised". They may also name the group by a process of deduction: they outline the nature of the trauma, and those who correspond to those symptoms are, by deduction "traumatised".
[26] Jenkins, R, *Social Identity, 2nd Edition* (London: Routledge, 2004), p.76-8.

experiencing the effects of F.M.D.[27] The study also accounted for the fact that, beginning in November 2001, these diaries were not only revealing ongoing trauma, but also how that trauma was being negotiated as memory. So rather than expecting the conclusions to provide direct evidence, they focussed upon patterns that suggested altered relationships. Consequently, these accounts reveal communal trauma as hard to define, unequally experienced and sometimes contested. Nevertheless, the overall picture suggests that individuals and communities had experienced a fundamental and lasting rupture in their relationship with the space in which they live. This then, is a perfect example of Jeffrey Alexander's cultural construction of trauma. A number of features of individual suffering and communal disintegration (and re-integration) were judged to be a direct result of an event, and that event was consequently claimed as "traumatic".

These conclusions were also broadcast. In October 2003, the group organised the *Voices of Experience* conference at Carlisle Racecourse, at which the expert speakers were those that had actually been affected by the crisis, rather than mediating "specialists". Moreover, when the conclusions of the Lancaster research were published in 2005, they received enormous coverage across the mainstream national and local media.[28] So by 2005 a clear narrative had been constructed and broadcast that the Foot and Mouth epidemic constituted a traumatic event.

Pictures

The landscape photography of F.M.D. has been brought to the public eye alongside this emerging message of trauma.[29] In February 2002 Ian Geering's photo-book, *The Aftermath* was published. Following this, in 2004, John Darwell's *Dark Days* project was exhibited at the Royal Agricultural Show, and again in 2005 at the Institute of Contemporary Interdisciplinary Arts in Bath. Some of these images were also included in a retrospective show at Tullie House Gallery in Carlisle in 2007, the same year as the entire project was

[27] This was inspired by the model of Mass Observation. Yet, unlike Mass Observation, no specific questions or topics were set. Convery et al, p.11

[28] See, the *Voices of Experience* conference pdf at http://cmis.carlisle.gov.uk/CMISWebPublic/Binary.ashx?Document=6832, for the media coverage, http://domino.lancs.ac.uk/Info/lunews.nsf/I/D1B80A202182AA50802570930045BF4A, accessed 12/10/2009

[29] Sometimes it has been part of those accounts of distress; for instance, a handful of John Darwell's images appeared in *Heart and Soul* in September 2001. Graham, op cit, p.125-130

published as a photo-book. Meanwhile, Nick May's *'Til the Cows Come Home* project toured various galleries within Cumbria in 2005, finishing at Tullie House in an exhibition from May to June 2006.[30] There have also been instances in which the landscape photography has been directly linked to academic research. In 2003 the Centre for Business Relationships, Accountability, Sustainability and Society (BRASS) at Cardiff University exhibited Ian Geering's images on their website (which focussed on the business and environmental impact of F.M.D).[31] Geering's images were also published in Brigitte Nerlich and Martin Döring's collection about the epidemic.[32] However, Geering's images in both these contexts have not been used to illustrate or corroborate any particular text, or specific message of trauma. In March 2006 all three photographers were included in an exhibition at the Holden Gallery, Manchester, alongside other photographs of the crisis from around the UK.[33] Inevitably, these photographs have also been accessed through the internet. As well as Geering's imagery on the BRASS website, John Darwell's imagery is available on his own site.[34] Overall though, the most immediate feature of the timeline above is that the vast majority of the photographs were not exhibited until some time after the crisis.

Documentary Display

This means that these images functioned both to inform an audience of the full implications of the crisis, and act as sites of memory for those fully aware of those implications. The visitors book from Nick May's exhibition at Tullie House reflects these functions. One visitor commented "terrible to watch, but learnt lots I didn't even no [sic] about it", and a number of school groups left messages in which "learning" is used repeatedly. So even in 2006 this imagery was providing new information, at least to part of the audience. Other

[30] During 2005 the tour of May's '*Til the Cows Come Home*, included the Folly Gallery at Lancaster, The Beacon, Whitehaven, and Beck Mill Gallery in Langwathby. The project was also due to be published in book format by Dewi Lewis in 2007. However, this has yet to be realised.
[31] Cardiff University, BRASS website: http://www.brass.cf.ac.uk/projects/Business_Impacts_Regulation_and_Management/business-impacts-regulation-and-manangement--Foot-and-Mouth-Disease.html. Ian Geering's images were removed in 2009.
[32] Döring & Nerlich, op cit.
[33] Such as from Clive Landen's project *The Abyss*, Alex Moore's *Child's Play* and Chris Chapman's *Silence at Ramscliffe*.
[34] Nick May's photographs are not available at the time of writing, but his and the other images may well have been accessed through links that have now disappeared.

messages emphasise the process of remembering: "Very emotionally moving – I wanted to cry all over again walking round this exhibition" and "…too sad to watch it all it brings back too many memories". One phrase frequently recurs: "Lest we forget".[35]

These functions denote the construction of trauma. Exposing the realities of the event is outlining the nature of the pain, whereas the act of commemoration suggests the demarcation of the community affected. Needless to say, writing "lest we forget" does not necessarily reflect that the writer was directly affected by the crisis. It does show that they feel part of a community for which it should be relevant. In fact, the "we" in "lest we forget" widens that community to an unspecific, generalised collective culture. Informing and commemoration are entangled, because "we" infers both those who remember vividly and the visiting schoolchildren learning about F.M.D. for the first time. *'Til the Cows Come Home* was, in Edward Casey's terms, a site of *public memory* (albeit a temporary one). It looked to both the past, in commemorating the event, but also the future, in stating that this event must be remembered.[36]

The comments are also quick to acknowledge F.M.D. as a trauma: "brought back the terrible trauma"; "things haven't been the same since"; and "we'll never move on".[37] Where these comments also reveal the writers' own experiences of F.M.D., these writers appear to have been equally involved in agriculture, tourism, or simply came from rural communities. So, the comments book does suggest that the exhibition of *'Til the Cows Come Home* served a valuable function as a site of commemoration for the whole community, and may also have conveyed trauma to some visitors unaware of aspects of the crisis. Nevertheless, inevitably the majority of comments are non-committal and show little emotional connection, such as "good exhibition" or "very interesting". This may illustrate a

[35] Exhibition visitor Book, Nick May, *'Til the Cows Come Home*, Tullie House Museum and Art Gallery, Carlisle, May-June, 2006. "Lest we forget", in the context of the Foot and Mouth images, was also included in the comments book for John Darwell's retrospective exhibition, *Committed to Memory*, Tullie House Museum and Art Gallery, Carlisle, May-July, 2007

[36] Casey, E, "Public Memory in Place and Time", in Phillips, K (Ed), *Framing Public Memory* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2004), p.17-20

[37] Many of the comments refer specifically to the emotion prompted by May's filmed interviews, but many speak of the photography and film as a whole.

failure in the work to communicate trauma, or that the space itself may be inappropriate for the message.

Since the demise of magazines such as *Life* and *Picture Post*, and now that the line between photographic genres is impossible to draw, the assumed ultimate destination for documentary is the art gallery. Needless to say documentary is still reproduced in print, in the photo-book, in newspapers and magazines and in the specialist photography press, but the photograph has now made its home in the gallery (or other variations on the exhibition space).[38] However, for Jill Bennett the representation of trauma is not best served by the documentary photograph in the gallery; the space allows too much opportunity for detachment. The viewer can simply move away from that which disturbs. Her conception of the photography of trauma does though, assume that it relies upon the ability to shock.[39] Certainly in recent times some galleries have become the sites to consume increasingly sensationalist images from the titillating but "safe" position inside the white room.[40] Yet none of the three photographers studied here rely upon the shocking image, but actually provide a far less spectacular view of the crisis than that produced by the press.

Whether the gallery maximises or inhibits the message of trauma is an unanswerable question. On one hand it (generally) provides a space free from distractions to contemplate the photograph. It also (generally) allows the photographer to control the representation and accompanying text to maximise the impact of the image. In terms of landscape it allows the possibility of affect; the ability to become immersed.[41] On the other hand the gallery is a safe, clean and controlled space that is distanced from the conditions that these images capture. Perhaps this distance is too great to make the leap of intellectual or emotional

---

[38] Both Darwell's and Pål Hansen's F.M.D. images have appeared in the *British Journal of Photography*. Darwell's appearance was a review for the book *Dark Days*. *British Journal of Photography*, (04/04/2007). Hansen's images appeared as part of a review of his career (the precise date is unknown. Email interview with Pål Hansen, 03/02/2010).

[39] Bennett, J, *Empathic Vision: Affect, Trauma and Contemporary Art* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005), p.62-66. Bennett does not however, suggest an alternative, more effective site for the photograph.

[40] If Susan Sontag worried about us becoming inured to the disturbing spectacles doled out by the press, then a similar danger of anaesthesia may face the contemporary gallery viewer. Sontag, S, *On Photography*, 5th Edition (London: Penguin, 1979)

[41] Though neither May or Darwell exhibited particularly large prints which overpower the viewer, in the way that say, Andreas Gursky's might be said to do.

connection.[42] Also, if the documentary photograph of disaster has become a regular fixture in the gallery, how is the gallery visitor to discriminate between the ones deserving of empathy? Perhaps the photographer and curator may be lured into making certain choices to make work stand out, which may intensify the spectacle at the expense of empathic involvement. Another significant problem with attempting to broadcast the message of trauma in the gallery is it limits the audience to those that visit galleries.

Gallery exhibition does allow the photographer to create a narrative. This also has merits and limitations when conveying trauma. Narrative may be essential to understanding the disaster. The traumatic experience of Foot and mouth was intensified by the length of isolation, and the long and meticulous process of disinfecting property and machinery. A narrative naturally emerges from this process: contamination and isolation, followed by de-contamination, followed by re-stocking and (potentially) recovery. Of course, many viewers of the F.M.D. images already knew this narrative. Yet many did not, and while this narrative helped them to understand the trauma, it may also have foreclosed intellectual enquiry. Trauma is after all, illogical, it defies understanding. To convey trauma, the project must attempt to transmit that which *constantly evades* easy comprehension.

Needless to say if the narrative ends in an obvious resolution, the viewer may withdraw their intellectual interest, and empathy. In the projects of both Darwell and May the images can stand alone as representations of the crisis, but they also combine to form loose narratives: infection and isolation, cleaning and then some aspect of recovery. This narrative comes to a less obvious resolution in Darwell's *Dark Days*. He hints at communal recovery; capturing the opening of Penrith market in September 2001, but these are by no means overtly optimistic images, and contrast with more sobering ones that suggest the individual fallout of F.M.D. He follows his assertions that many will leave the farming life with shots of derelict farm machinery, or For Sale signs at farm gates; their shadows stretching out like flags of surrender (Figure 1).

[42] The alternative would seem to be display in local venues within the affected communities themselves (as Amber do with their imagery). This may well connect the imagery to the surrounding landscape. It does however, limit their accessibility to a wider audience.

Figure 1: John Darwell, *For Sale signs on previously infected farm*, 2002

May's narrative, as the title infers, ends with restocking. Images of re-opened livestock markets suggest that any discomfort farmers feel about a loss of continuity or of "kenning" an alien stock is, at least momentarily outweighed by the pleasure of re-engaging with the social ritual (Figures 2 &3). It is therefore more optimistic, and comments from the Tullie House exhibition reveal that the closing message of hope may have been comforting to some visitors.

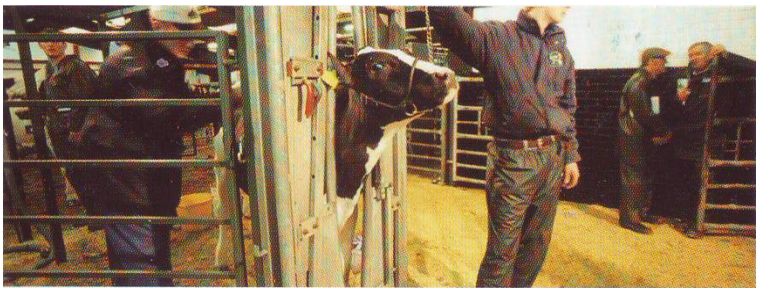


Figure 2: Nick May, from *'Til the Cows Come Home*, 2001-2

Yet it also ends on a bitter sweet note. It highlights that agriculture in Cumbria has to diversify to survive, post-F.M.D. In fact, in both May's and Darwell's projects there are two narratives which, while they do not conflict, certainly cross. One is the story of a devastating blow, ultimately met with resilience and recovery, the other is that this blow will also lead to change and the irreplaceable loss.

Figure 3: Nick May, from *'Til the Cows Come Home*, 2001-2

Inevitably, the way that this narrative is presented is subject to curatorial influence and the limitations of the gallery space. More control over narrative and presentation is possible in the photo-book, or on the photographer's website. Though due to the size of the computer screen, and the low resolution of images, the website is an inherently limited site of display. The twenty seven images on Darwell's website do reflect a general chronological narrative, which is laid out in more detail in the photo-book *Dark Days*, published in 2007. It is divided into three acts: "The Burning Season", which captures the photographer's journey around northern Cumbria in the first few weeks of the crisis; "Fire and Water", documenting the intensive clean-up process on infected farms; and "Open Gates, Empty Fields", a return to a visual travelogue around the countryside now emptied of stock. Naturally, the strongest chronological narrative is during the clean-up process, and there are occasional instances in which the photographs face each other on opposing pages, suggesting a narrative relationship.[43]

Yet in the first and last sections of the sequence, rather than a narrative we are offered a repetitive catalogue of similar, but unrelated images. They work as a composite panorama, showing how similar scenes of destruction, then emptiness occurred throughout the northern part of Cumbria. This repetition intensifies the sense of stasis; a whole region locked in a perpetual, numb present. A similar sense of repetition characterises Ian Geering's photo-book *Foot and Mouth: The Aftermath*. This follows both a chronological and geographical path, but there is little sense of a progressive narrative here. The images

[43] Outside the central "act" of *Dark Days*, this is most obvious in the opposition of two images *Eden Valley*, showing a tractor piling carcasses, and *After removing dead sheep*, a picture of an unidentified farmer with his hand to his eye, with the additional caption "*They're my brother in law's sheep, all mine went last week. He won't come out of the house until it's all over*". Darwell, op cit, p.50, 51

of Devon, Yorkshire and Cumbria essentially mirror each other; photographs of stoical, heroic, but clearly shell-shocked country people (figure 4) are interspersed with image after image of the empty and silent countryside.[44]

Figure 4: Ian Geering, *Freda Rayson, Sockbridge Pony Trekking Centre, Cumbria*, 2001

This repetition is an appropriate method of conveying trauma. The images suggest the all pervading effects of F.M.D. on the landscape, but also separate themselves from an easily consumed "story". Within the sequence we get the same feeling; the same (but different) frozen landscape appearing again and again, never finding resolution. They may, in essence parallel the tendency to experience "flashbulb" memories in trauma: the memory (in this case, of the site of pain) that recurs as if being experienced for the first time, and that refuses to be assimilated into a coherent explanation of events. Often these are also banal landscapes. They also separate themselves from other photographs of Foot and Mouth that emphasise activity or the sublime: those of the process of decontamination, or the pyre. In Darwell's sequence we get the contrast between intense activity and shock, and the banal, endlessly static and numb, which is reminiscent of the experience of war.

[44] The project captured the after effects of Foot and Mouth from April in Kent, through the summer in Devon, to the winter of 2001-2 in Cumbria and North Yorkshire. The few images of Kent are slightly different, focusing on people involved in upholding biosecurity measures, rather than the empty landscape.

Audiences

One may assume that the purchaser of the photo-book is already sympathetic to the message of trauma.[45] There is no such guarantee that the gallery viewer is necessarily so sensitive, or indeed has any specific interest in the crisis. We also cannot assume that they will be persuaded by what they see.[46] The comments book from Nick May's exhibition reveals that not all visitors were uniformly sympathetic towards those affected by F.M.D. One visitor complained about "whinging farmers". Another acknowledged that F.M.D. was "understandably traumatic", but that "at the end of it most of these (all?) profited well at the cost of the tax payer". It suggested that some farmers spent compensation on "flash cars", and some intentionally infected their farms "to be sure they'd not miss the big cash bonanza".[47] This focus upon compensation payouts cannot necessarily be put down to the suggestions of the press (indeed, the above comment concludes that the press had *ignored* "these true stories"). Compensation was inherently divisive, and within communities there were naturally perceived divisions between farmers who had acted responsibly during the crisis and those that had, in various ways prioritised their own interests.[48]

Another comment reiterated these sentiments: "It is the only industry I know that can shoot itself in the foot + get compensated for it! Where were they when the miners + shipworkers were being driven off – I didn't see the farmers handing out potatoes + food then".[49] Others focussed on the seeming contradiction between the acceptance of slaughter under normal circumstances, and mourning the loss of livestock to F.M.D.: "What a load of absolute codswallop. Sheep, cattle, pigs, poultry are slaughtered by the thousand every day and not a tear is shed by any of the farming community". Again, such opinions correlate with those put forward in the press, but there is no reason that they were necessarily fuelled by them.[50]

---

[45] As they generally retail for around £20 to £30, the viewer generally has at least an *interest* in the issue (though photo-books are seen by people other than the purchaser)

[46] We may assume that at least some part of the viewer must be open to persuasion, if they are willing to go to galleries and look at new images.

[47] Visitor comment book, *'Til the Cows Come Home*, op cit.

[48] Hillyard (2009), op cit, p.86-90

[49] Visitor comment book, *'Til the Cows Come Home*, op cit.

[50] Odone, C, "A cow is just a cow", in *The Observer* (04/03/2001), reproduced at http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2001/mar/04/footandmouth.comment, and Browne, A & Harris, P, "How a rural idyll turned into a hotbed of disease: the foot and mouth disaster throws the whole of Britain's farming

Press editorial and visitor comment alike may merely reflect a misunderstanding of the emotional geographies of farming life, and a mistrust of industrialised agriculture in contemporary culture.

Such comments should perhaps have been expected. Though other rural inhabitants are shown, the focus of all three projects is on farming. There appears to be an assumption by photographer and public alike that those communities affected by F.M.D. are predominantly defined by a division between agricultural insider, and non-agricultural outsider. The projects reflect a rather traditional perception of rural communities, which F.M.D. actually proved to be not entirely accurate (and indeed a perception *not shared* by either Caz Graham or Maggie Mort in their studies). What emerges from the response to May's exhibition in 2006 is the continuing ambivalence towards the idea that Foot and Mouth constituted a communal trauma, particularly when it comes to the suffering of the farming community. That ambivalence reflected certain fault lines within the community, but also between rural sufferers and urban observers. Reactions to the exhibition suggest that those fault lines were just as vivid in how F.M.D. was remembered as how it was originally reported.[51] Despite the widely publicised conclusions of official reports and academic studies, the message of trauma was not uniformly accepted. Which may be why, in 2006, the art group Littoral organised an event to bring the various experiences and studies of the crisis together.

Communal "Closure": Manchester 2006

Littoral's conference *The Cultural Documents of Foot and Mouth*, at Manchester Town Hall was accompanied by the aforementioned exhibition at Manchester Metropolitan University's Holden Gallery. The conference sought to,

> "*bring together and review some of the main scientific, veterinary, media, rural community, and artistic records produced in connection with the 2001 epidemic, and to use these to attempt to inform a wider public understanding*

---

practices into question", in *The Observer* (25/02/2001), available at http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2001/feb/25/footandmouth.ruralaffairs1, accessed 12/10/2009

[51] This correlates with observations of communal trauma by Neil Smelser. Original fault lines permeate how memories of events are contested, even after some time. Smelser, op cit, p.54

about the health, economic and environmental impact and social consequences of the outbreak".[52]

Acting as an inter-disciplinary review of F.M.D. it brought together sociologists, vets, scientists, cultural analysts, and cultural practitioners such as photographers and poets.[53] There were also contributions from those who had actually experienced the crisis: those involved with agriculture and tourism and rural support groups. The conference then, functioned to cement the perception of the epidemic as a communal trauma (and recognised the importance of culture, as well as science in this process).

It also aimed to function as a site of therapeutic gathering.[54] In inviting delegates from across all areas affected by the crisis it aimed to build a community across geographical and disciplinary boundaries. Foot and Mouth served to isolate the parts of what was previously an intricately linked national network, and sow mistrust between infected and non-infected areas. Certain communities felt that they had been overlooked by both government and press during the crisis (including those in Cumbria and Devon, which received the most coverage).[55] The conference aimed to reunite divided communities, with an emphasis on therapeutic discussion; to achieve "some kind of emotional and psychological closure for the communities involved".[56] This was no doubt necessary. The many inquiries into the epidemic had failed to explore the human suffering in any detail, or instil confidence that future outbreaks would be handled any more efficiently.[57] In addition, while farming may

---

[52] Hunter, I and Larner, C, *The Cultural Documents of Foot and Mouth* conference and exhibition poster, p.1, available at http://www.littoral.org.uk/HTML01/conferences/Cultural_Documents_FMD.pdf, accessed 10/03/2006

[53] The sociologists included Mort's team and Sam Hillyard, the vet David Black, the scientists Abigail Woods and Roger Breeze, and the cultural analysts, Nerlich and Dörling.

[54] Though this function was not stated in these precise terms.

[55] This was certainly the case for some Cumbrian farmers. And in all probability, felt equally by those in Devon. Convery, et al, p.58. The setting up of regional and county specific reports and inquiries may well have also intensified this lack of national unity.

[56] Hunter and Larner, op cit, p.1

[57] Mort, M, Convery, I, Bailey, J and Baxter, J, *The Health and Social Consequences of the 2001 Foot and Mouth Disease Epidemic in North Cumbria* (Lancaster: Institute for Health, 2004), p.68, available at http://www.data-archive.ac.uk/doc/5407%5Cmrdoc%5Cpdf%5C5407finalreport.pdf, accessed 26/08/2007. In fact, the one report that explicitly returned to the subject of Foot and Mouth five years on still focused almost entirely on economic issues. Donaldson, A, Lee, R, Ward, N and Wilkinson, K, *Foot and Mouth - Five Years On: The Legacy of the 2001 Foot and Mouth Disease Crisis for Farming and the British Countryside* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Centre for Rural Economy Discussion Paper No.6, 2006). Furthermore, the feeling that Foot and Mouth made little impact upon official policy was conveyed by its conclusion that Defra was still a sprawling institution, in which the left hand did not know what the right hand was doing. Another case

have been compensated, many other rural businesses had still received little practical help after the crisis.[58] The conference then, was motivated by the implicit belief that speaking of pain may go some way to exorcising that pain (though we might question the extent to which it achieved this aim, given that the majority of delegates were not themselves directly affected by Foot and Mouth).

Another aim of the conference was to act as a site of commemoration. Foot and mouth was already embedded in *collective* memory (in that it was embedded in many individuals and social groups), and this collective memory was already activated by cultural documents (such as landscape photographs). The conference's aim was to ensure that this collective memory became a *public* memory, not least by occurring in the symbolically public venue of Manchester Town Hall. It also proposed a physical site of remembrance: a museum and archive of pertinent information. The conference typified what Casey has termed the "three-sidedness of public memory: Janus plus the present".[59] It existed in the present, in that it sought to combine all the latest knowledge about the epidemic. It looked to the past, but it also looked to the future, proposing that the memories of F.M.D. be formally archived, and learned from.

In fact, Cumbria already had a physical public memorial to F.M.D. In 2003 the Watchtree nature reserve was established on Great Orton Airfield, the site of one of the largest slaughter and disposal operations during the crisis. It must be said that Watchtree was negotiated between Carlisle City Council, and Defra, so how far the public feel engaged with it is open to question.[60] While the site was set up after Foot and Mouth, it is only the

---

of Foot and Mouth was then, unlikely to be met with any improved sensitivity or efficiency (perhaps an overly pessimistic view given the quick response to the outbreak in 2007). Donaldson et al, p.10-14

[58] Ibid, p.80

[59] Casey, op cit, p.41. It also took place on the five year anniversary of the outbreak, and anniversaries always fuse the past and present.

[60] The council meeting notes from the negotiation process may hint that Watchtree may have been a symbolic gesture by Defra to placate calls for compensation in the local area (from the massive disturbance caused by the site during the outbreak). They may have, in effect, off-loaded a now useless piece of land. Carlisle City Council Meeting Documents, 05/03/2002, at http://cmis.carlisle.gov.uk/CMISWebPublic/Binary.ashx?Document=3601, accessed 10/12/2009. That said, Watchtree has been actively used as a site of memory; meetings concerning the 2001 epidemic have taken place in its small conference facilities on occasion. There is a danger that the Watchtree stone simply acts as Pierre Nora's lieu de memoire (site of memory). It represents an archival acknowledgement of the crisis that

"Watchtree stone" itself that provides an explicit memorial (Figure 5).[61] Other than this the epidemic is only memorialised in print and visual imagery, both of which are prone to slipping out of public consciousness unless required, or indeed if memory is *actively suppressed*.

Figure 5: The Foot and Mouth epidemic memorial, Watchtree Nature Reserve, Cumbria (photographer unknown)[62]

Cultural Repression

The Freudian approach to individual trauma is based on the assumption of repression. The unconscious protects the ego from a threatening event by holding back the experience. Consequently the experience emerges through flashbacks, symbolic associations, or other physical symptoms. However, is it possible to envisage communal repression? In the construction of trauma, this would raise something of a paradox. For trauma to be communal, it must be communicated. So a communally repressed event would first have to be communicated and acknowledged, and then *actively* repressed. More accurately it would have to be *suppressed*.

---

simplifies and covers the actual memory of the event held in social interaction. As an image of permanence it suggests F.M.D as a part of a critically unexamined history, rather than an ongoing collective memory that still requires resolution. Nora, P, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memeoire", in *Representations, No.26* (Spring 1989), p.7-24

[61] Stone, however, is one of the most potent symbols of the permanence of publicly endorsed memory. This stone bears a plaque with the inscription: "A Memorial: To 448,508 sheep, 12,085 cattle and 5,719 pigs buried here during the Foot and Mouth outbreak of 2001".

[62] Courtesy of Visit Cumbria website, at website, at http://www.visitcumbria.com/footandmouth.htm

Neil Smelser acknowledges the possibility of communal repression, but suggests that it unlikely to be effective. Once the message of trauma has been established, it may be temporarily suppressed, but it will inevitably be taken up at some point by some collective wishing to draw upon the trauma to reflect their particular needs at the time.[63] Repression is merely part of the general ambivalence towards the cultural construction of trauma, which is always prey to divided interests and different inflections. Yet some element of communal repression is probably inevitable. Some communities simply cannot effectively describe their pain; it refuses to be made into any meaningful context. There also comes a point at which communities have made some meaning of the event, but do not want to continually refresh that pain. It is simply a matter of protecting the group psyche. However, at the same time, the traumatic experience will not go away; it continues to dominate that psyche and inflect every other experience. As Smelser observes, there are usually dual compulsions in the traumatised community: to protect itself from pain, and to constantly relive it.[64]

Contradictory Messages: Love, Labour and Loss

These contradictory impulses are evident in an art exhibition that ran from July to September 2002 at Tullie House Gallery. *Love, Labour and Loss: 300 Years of British Farming* celebrated the pastoral in British art since the agricultural revolution. It was organised by Carlisle City Council to boost the tourist industry in those counties worst affected by the disease, and counter the negative images of the British landscape that had become ingrained in public perception.[65] Another impulse behind the exhibition was to "lift the spirits of the community".[66] It aimed to help recovery and relegate the epidemic to the past. Yet it also directly referenced the crisis, and its impact upon rural life. The exhibition was a direct result of, and comment upon F.M.D., but also a corrective to the imagery of the crisis, and served to minimise the relevance F.M.D.

---

[63] Smelser, op cit, p.51. Smelser cites the example of the negotiation of the Nazi past in West Germany.
[64] Ibid, p.53. It is the paradoxical experience of trauma: the last thing people want to remember is the thing they cannot forget. The event that threatens identity has become that which defines identity.
[65] See, Bower, S, "Interview with Clive Adams, A Curator's Perspective", at http://www.greenmuseum.org/generic_content.php?ct_id=77, accessed 14/02/2010. The exhibition was advertised through an extensive publicity drive, and also traveled to Devon, the other county catastrophically affected by F.M.D., and was shown at the Royal Albert Memorial Museum in Exeter.
[66] Ibid

The catalogue forward by Melvyn Bragg was accompanied by two images from the epidemic, by John Darwell and the Devon photographer Chris Chapman. Yet these images did not actually appear in the exhibition itself. In fact F.M.D was only specifically represented by two works, Sam Taylor Wood's symbolic photograph *Poor Cow* (2001), and Daro Montag's video loop of the F.M.D. virus, *Living Mattering* (2002).[67] This was in an exhibition of 136 artworks and 8 ceramic pieces. Set amongst pieces spanning 300 years, the imagery of F.M.D. effectively became a blip, statistically as well as conceptually, in a long tradition of pastoral agriculture. Although Foot and Mouth was the final entry in this story, overall the exhibition conveyed a long, continuous narrative which emphasised the eternal rather than the changing. Perhaps, as the main focus was the pastoral, and the Cumbrian landscape a minor theme, this was inevitable. Yet even the catalogue essays diminish the event. Though frequently mentioned, F.M.D. is seen as a "difficulty" or "challenge"; its magnitude as an event lessened to focus upon a longer narrative emphasising the various, gently unfolding developments in agriculture.[68]

Perhaps *Love, Labour and Loss* merely reflects the ambivalence inherent in the processing of any traumatic event in a diverse community. Although it focused on the pastoral, it was organised by the *urban* authority of Carlisle City Council, with the express aim of boosting tourism. It may have suppressed the traumatic effect of F.M.D. for the greater good of the county. It also may have been just what people needed. The gallery claimed that the show was one of the most popular it had ever staged.[69] Indeed the only complaint seemed to be the inclusion of Damien Hirst's *Prodigal Son* (1994). One young farmer stated, "Very inappropriate to bring it to Carlisle after FMD. Reminded me of the calves we used to see in their mother's bodies when their abdomens split open on the pyre".[70] This generally held opinion suggests that the urge to suppress the memories of F.M.D. was one shared by organisers and public alike.[71]

---

[67] Taylor Wood's *Poor Cow* draws a metaphorical analogy between Foot and Mouth and her own struggle with cancer. Ibid

[68] Clutton-Brock, J & Hall, S, "All is Useless that is not Beef: Stocking the Landscape", and Adams, C, "When Tillage begins, other Arts follow: Contemporary Life", both in Adams (Ed), op cit, p.51, p.86

[69] "Hirst's calf upsets farmers", BBC News Online, at http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/2207518.stm, accessed 24/08/2009

[70] Convery et al, op cit, p.76

[71] "Hirst's calf upsets farmers", op cit.

Pictures of Cumbria

The popularity of *Love, Labour and Loss* suggests that the bucolic idyll was still the way the public wanted to envision the landscape. The exhibition also returned to prioritising the Lake District as the epitome of that idyll in Cumbria. While it focussed upon the history of British livestock farming, the county was still overwhelmingly represented by images of Lakeland.[72] The exhibition reflected the general focus of the national eye. Those parts of Cumbria that were revealed by Foot and Mouth, once again slipped into invisibility after the outbreak (only to reappear if affected by another disaster, such as the floods that hit Carlisle in 2005 and Workington in 2009).

Yet the public's requirements of Cumbria *as* the Lake District may have changed in the wake of the crisis. In September 2007 ITV aired the programme *Britain's Favourite View*, in which the public voted for certain British landscapes, advocated by celebrities. The winner was Wastwater in Lakeland, advocated by actress Sally Whittaker, who plays Sally Webster in ITV's *Coronation Street*. Admittedly, the programme is limited in what it can tell us about the realities, or even the perception of a post-F.M.D. Cumbria. It was, after all, intended to be an idealised vision of the Lake District, and furthermore a vision that appeals to the Sunday night television viewer: the viewing slot in which middle class values of taste, nostalgia, tradition and the pastoral idyll are conventionally aired.[73] Yet *Britain's Favourite View* clearly portrayed the Lake District as a space of tourist consumption, rather than a landscape based on the traditional *pastoral* idyll. It typified the ways that Lakeland has been represented for the tourist gaze (as noted by John Urry and Carol Crawshaw), with low camera angles, backed with serene pastoral music, and featured white, middle class walkers (occasionally stopping, one foot raised on rock to survey the scene).[74] Yet it also showed Lakeland as a space of adventure sports and Beatrix Potter themed attractions.

---

[72] Only two paintings, one by Samuel Bough and one by Sheila Fell represented those other areas of Cumbria which actually contain most of the county's livestock.

[73] For instance, in programmes such as *Antiques Roadshow*, *Songs of Praise*, and gentle rural dramas such as *Heartbeat* or *Monarch of the Glen*.

[74] Crawshaw, C & Urry, J, "Tourism and the Photographic Eye", in Rojek, C & Urry J (Eds), *Touring Cultures – Transformations of Travel and Theory* (London: Routledge, 1997), p.187

Lakeland was not so much an illusion of the pastoral idyll, as a theme park of the pastoral idyll.

Figure 6: Promotional still from ITV's *Britain's Favourite View*, September 2007

The public were voting for Whittaker's experience of the view, not the view itself, and the Lakes were shown as an ordered, clean leisure garden for her to indulge in serene contemplation of the landscape, or a thrilling half-day rock-climbing course (Figure 6). Furthermore, Whittaker underlined that this space is only an hour's drive from Manchester: a suburban park.[75] Overall, the landscape showed little evidence of farming, except in the form of the Beatrix Potter farm attraction at Hill Top. It was a vision of farming preserved, and experienced as a tourist attraction, rather than productive agriculture.

However, this does not necessarily mean that farming is irrelevant to the consumption of the landscape. The epidemic revealed the extent to which tourism is the economic priority in most of central Cumbria, but F.M.D. also showed how tourism could be devastated by events that undermined the idea of the pastoral idyll.[76] *Britain's Favourite View* may have portrayed a consumer landscape without the traditional view of pastoral agriculture (or one in which that view is a simulation), but that does not mean that it does not remain essential to the appeal of the countryside. As one report into the epidemic concluded,

[75] This is not the Manchester of bleak industry, but the cosmopolitan Manchester of *Coronation Street*; a Manchester epitomised by aspirational Whittaker / Webster.
[76] In Terry Marsden's terms, F.M.D. exposed that the central space of Cumbria was one that was dictated by preservationist rather than a clientelistic spheres of influence. Marsden, T, "New Rural Territories: Regulating the Differentiated Rural Spaces", in *Journal of Rural Studies, Vol.14, No.1* (1998), p.109-113

> *"[W]hile demoting agriculture, the FMD crisis has also revealed starkly the continuing dependency of the countryside on farming. The rural economy, however diverse, remains vulnerable to an agricultural crisis… What must be readily apparent now is that the public-good benefits of pastoral farming far overshadow the market value of its tradable products".*[77]

Foot and Mouth revealed what the public require from rural Cumbria, and the pastoral idyll is still among those requirements. However, it also revealed that the pastoral is part of a highly complex system of many other requirements of the rural space. Some of these may be negative; it may be a space upon which to project our fears about animal cruelty, environmental damage or food safety. We can no longer see the rural as simply constructed from (and an antidote to) the city.

Foot and Mouth made it clear that "nature" is highly inter-linked with "culture". As John Law and Vicky Singleton have pointed out, it highlighted a number of interchanges between what we assume is the natural realm and what we regard as the social realm. The disease itself crossed those boundaries: natural, yet spread through human networks, and constructed as an epidemic for socio-political reasons. As a natural hazard it fed into some purely social concerns that cross the divide between human and nature, such as food quality, transport, and of course, the consumption of the countryside. F.M.D. is indicative of our highly *unnatural* world, which rather than being seen through a division of nature and culture should more accurately be seen as "natureculture".[78] In fact, the legacy of F.M.D. may not be Wells' "revolution in pastoral idealism", but more of a *revelation*. Foot and Mouth revealed the extent of that idealism, and what we actually want, and can expect from the pastoral.[79]

The Landscapes of Foot and Mouth in Cumbria

Before the crisis Cumbria was predominantly represented by tourist images of Lakeland, in which the pastoral idyll was an implicit element. After the epidemic there has been a return to such imagery, but the idea of the pastoral is somehow more obviously contrived: either

[77] Bennett et al, op cit, p.17
[78] Law and Singleton, op cit, p.233
[79] Wells, op cit, p.13

explicitly nostalgic or overtly consumerist. In between there is a rupture, and the image of this rupture is the landscape in flames. This will no doubt be the lasting picture of the crisis. It is iconic, not because it has a clear meaning, but because it can be tied to so many.[80] As F.M.D. defies a unified, singular meaning there is a natural recourse to the inexplicable image of rupture. This image is also appropriate to the arenas in which F.M.D. is broadcast to the popular consciousness: the press or the internet. It corresponds to the way we consume disaster. It is a spectacle, consumed aesthetically, even viscerally: an event, rather than a process to be understood. The image of the pyre can work either as a flash bulb memory, signifying an irresolvable rupture, or merely as shorthand for a particular cultural moment.

Yet as well as the idyllic pictures of Cumbria as tourist haven, and the sublime spectacle of the pyre, there are also the landscapes discussed here. These show more subtle but equally fundamental ruptures in the lives and landscapes of Cumbria. Yet these photographs do not explain the crisis, or constitute the truth of F.M.D. in contrast to the fictitious or simplistic images of the idyll and the pyre. They attempt to translate some of the feelings prompted by being in the landscape altered by the epidemic: feelings of isolation, contamination, impotence, marginalisation, stasis and numbness. In fact the continuing and conflicting existence of all the representations of Cumbria are essential if the traumatic experience of Foot and Mouth is to be "translated" to a wide audience. To begin to comprehend the crisis we must realise the insistence with which British culture will protect the idea of the rural idyll. We must also acknowledge that that idyll is something we now want to modify into a consumable product, as much as something we want to idealise. So both the landscapes of *Love, Labour and Loss* and *Britain's Favourite View* are important in the appreciation of the crisis. The pyre is fundamental. It shows what happens when a virulent disease strikes, and an official plan to control it is laid over real space. The images of Geering, May and Darwell link these images. They show what happens after the pyre, but before the landscape is returned to a space of consumption. They show what the pyre means in a

[80] As such, it features strongly in the cultural documents of F.M.D., even those that attempt to prize open the real experience of the epidemic, such as *Heart and Soul*, and Döring and Nerlich's *The Social and Cultural Impact of Foot-and-Mouth Disease in the UK in 2001*. However, it does not appear in Convery et al's *Animal Disease and Human Trauma*.

wider, lived landscape, rather than just in a dramatic cropped image. They therefore show that F.M.D. fundamentally disturbed the idealised picture of Cumbria, but also, to more devastating effect, the everyday landscape.

These four pictures of Cumbria, the pastoral idyll, the tourist playground, the pyre and the landscape affected by F.M.D. exist in a continually antagonistic relationship. The result is that the "narrative" of Foot and Mouth remains unresolved. This is perhaps as it should be; F.M.D. is characterised by the obscurity of too much meaning. As Law and Singleton suggest, Foot and Mouth "can in part be understood as a kind of narrative implosion".[81] In theory, the cultural construction of F.M.D. as communal trauma could have happened without landscape imagery. Plenty of other social agents have applied themselves to the task. Yet landscape is actually essential. Words attempt to convey meaning; these landscapes translate the experience of Foot and Mouth in the physical space, and when they have been exhibited, comments reveal that they have spoken to those affected and an outside audience alike. When the Cumbrian landscapes are taken together in a continually antagonistic relationship, they convey the inability to make meaning; the rupture. This was the experience of Foot and Mouth.

Love, Labour and Loss and *Britain's Favourite View* suggest that the crisis is receding from memory, at least for those unaffected by it.[82] However, Foot and Mouth demands continued investigation. The crisis may still be unresolved within those communities affected, but F.M.D. was also indicative of a disruption within the whole of British culture. It brought into sharp relief how complex the discourses of nature and culture, and urban and rural are in contemporary society. Foot and Mouth as a cultural (as well as scientific, economic and social) event suggested that behind the tourist brochure image, or pastoral painting, the relationship between space, place and landscape is highly agitated. It showed how production, consumption, authority, traditional communities, contemporary fears, and global networks all come together uneasily in contemporary British attitudes to the rural.

[81] Law and Singleton, op cit, p.239
[82] The imagery of Foot and Mouth will probably be revisited in 2011, on the tenth anniversary of the crisis. However, uncomfortable imagery of the rural space is a rarity in urban galleries, so there is no guarantee that this imagery will be seen beyond those rural areas affected.

Foot and Mouth may well have represented another lurching rupture in our relationship with the natural world; a further step along the path of the “fantasy of not belonging”.

LIST OF REFERENCES

Bibliography

Adams, R, *Beauty in Photography, 2nd Edition* (New York: Aperture, 1996)

Alexander, J, "Toward a Theory of Cultural Trauma", in Alexander et al, *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), pp.1-30

Alexander, J, Eyerman, R, Giesen, B, Smelser, N & Sztompka, P, *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004)

Allender, Q, *Fields of Fire* (Star, Somerset, Allender, 2002)

Amber Collective, *Amber: A Short History* [promotional pamphlet] (Newcastle: Amber, 2007)

Anderson, B, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983)

Anderson, I, *Lessons to be Learned Enquiry* (London, HMSO, 2002)

Andrews, M, *Landscape and Western Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999)

Armstrong, K (Ed), *The Big Meeting: A People's View of the Durham Miners' Gala* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Trade Union Printing Services, 1994)

Ashby, J & Higson, A (Eds), *British Cinema, Past and Present* (London: Routledge, 2000)

Atkinson, C (Ed), *Conrad Atkinson Landescapes* (New York: John Isaacs, 2006)

Bainbridge, B, *English Journey, or The Road to Milton Keynes* (London: Flamingo, 1985)

Barthes, R, *Camera Lucida 3rd Edition* (London: Vintage, 2000)

Bate, D, *Photography and Surrealism: Sexuality, Colonialism and Social Dissent* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2004)

Baudrillard, J, *Simulacra and Simulation, 2nd Edition* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994)

Bauman, Z, *Wasted Lives: Modernity and its Outcasts* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004)

Becker, H, S, "Afterword: Photography as Evidence, Photographs as Exposition", in Knowles, C & Sweetman, P (Eds), *Picturing the Social Landscape: Visual Methods and the Sociological Imagination* (London: Routledge, 2004), p.193-7

Bennett, J, *Empathic Vision: Affect, Trauma and Contemporary Art* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005)

Bennett, K and Lee, R, "Amber and an/other rural: film, photography and the former coalfields" in Fish, R (Ed), *Cinematic Countrysides* (Manchester: Manchester university Press), p.249-268

Berger, J, *Why Look at Animals?* (London: Penguin, 2009)

Bermingham, A, "System, Order and Abstraction: The Politics of English Landscape Drawing around 1795", in Mitchell, W.J.T (Ed), *Landscape and Power, 2nd Edition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), p.77-101

Berry, M, *A History of Pain: Trauma in Modern Chinese Literature and Film* (Columbia University Press, 2008)

Beynon, H (Ed), *Digging Deeper: Issues in the Miners' Strike* (London: Verso, 1985)

Beynon, H & McMylor, P, "Decisive Power: The New Tory State Against the Miners", in Beynon, H (Ed), *Digging Deeper: Issues in the Miners' Strike* (London: Verso, 1985), p.29-46

Beynon, H, "Documentary Poet: Murray Martin", in Rowbotham, S & Beynon, H (Eds), *Looking at Class: Film, Television and the Working Class in Britain* (London: Rivers Oram Press, 2001), p.159-172

Brough Sandiford, P, "Farmers / Writers: 'They may be experts but they know nowt'", in Döring, M & Nerlich, B, *The Social and Cultural Impact of Foot-and Mouth Disease in the UK in 2001: Experiences and Analyses* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 2009), p.37-50

Bulmer, M (Ed), *Working-Class Images of Society* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975)

Bulmer, M (Ed) *Mining and Social Change: Durham County in the Twentieth Century* (London: Croom Helm, 1978)

Bunce, M, "Reproducing Rural Idylls", in Cloke, P (Ed), *Country Visions* (Harlow: Pearson Educational Ltd, 2003), p.14-30

Burgin, V (Ed), *Thinking Photography*, 11th Edition (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994)

Burke, E, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1958)

Byrne, D & Doyle, A, "the Visual and the Verbal: The Interaction of Images and Discussion in Exploring Cultural Change", in Knowles, C & Sweetman, P (Eds), *Picturing the Social Landscape: Visual Methods and the Sociological Imagination* (London: Routledge, 2004), p.166-177

Campbell, B, *Wigan Pier Revisited: poverty and Politics in the 1980s* (London: Virago, 1984)

Caruth, C (Ed), *Trauma: Explorations in Memory* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995).

Caruth, C, *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative and History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996)

Caruth, C & Keenan, T, "'The AIDS Crisis is not Over': A Conversation with Gregg Bordowitz, Douglas Crimp and Laura Pinsky", in Caruth, C (Ed), *Trauma: Explorations in Memory* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1995), p.256-272

Casey, E, "Public Memory in Place and Time", in Phillips, K (Ed), *Framing Public Memory* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2004), p.17-44

de Certeau, M, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988)

Chaplin, S, "Durham Mining Villages", in Bulmer, M (Ed) *Mining and Social Change: Durham County in the Twentieth Century* (London: Croom Helm, 1978), p.59-82

Cloke, P (Ed), *Country Visions* (Harlow: Pearson Educational Ltd, 2003)

Cohen, A, P, *The Symbolic Construction of Community, 5th Edition* (London: Routledge, 1995)

Convery, I, Mort, M, Baxter, J, Bailey, C, *Animal Disease and Human trauma: Emotional Geographies of Disaster* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008)

Cook, J, *The Year of the Pyres: The 2001 Foot and Mouth Epidemic* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 2001)

Cotton, C, The Photograph as Contemporary Art, Second Edition (London: Thames and Hudson, 2007)

Crawshaw, C & Urry, J, "Tourism and the Photographic Eye", in Rojek, C & Urry J (Eds), *Touring Cultures – Transformations of Travel and Theory* (London: Routledge, 1997), p.178-195

Critchley, S, *On Humour, 7th Edition* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008)

Curry, D, *Farming and Food: A Sustainable Future* (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 2002)

Darby, W.J, *Landscape and Identity: Geographies of Nation and Class in England* (Oxford: Berg, 2000)

Darwell, J, *Dark Days* (Stockport: Dewi Lewis, 2007)

Defoe, D, *A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain, 2nd Penguin Edition* (London: Penguin, 1986)

Delanty, G, *Community, 4th Edition* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005)

Dickinson, M (Ed), *Rogue Reels: Oppositional Film in Britain 1945-90* (London: British Film Institute, 1999)

Donaldson, A, Lee, R, Ward, N and Wilkinson, K, "Foot and Mouth – Five Years On: The Legacy of the 2001 Foot and Mouth Disease Crisis for Farming and the British Countryside", *Centre for Rural Economy Discussion Paper Series, No.6* (Newcastle: Newcastle University, 2006)

Döring, M & Nerlich, B, *The Social and Cultural Impact of Foot-and Mouth Disease in the UK in 2001: Experiences and Analyses* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 2009)

Douglas, M, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo, 4th Edition* (London: Ark, 1988)

Dyer, G, *The Ongoing Moment, 3rd Edition* (London: Abacus, 2007)

Erikson, K, *A New Species of Trouble: Explorations in Disaster, Trauma and Community* (New York: Norton, 1994)

Erikson, K, "Notes on Trauma and Community", in Caruth, C (Ed), *Trauma: Explorations in Memory* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), p.183-199

Evans, J (Ed), *The Camerawork Essays: Context and Meaning in Photography* (London: Rivers Oram Press, 1997)

Faulkner, T (Ed), *Northumbrian Panorama: Studies of the History and Culture of North East England* (London: Octavian Press, 1996)

Fawcett, H (Ed), *Made in Newcastle: Visual Culture* (Newcastle: Northumbria University Press, 2007)

Fish, R (Ed), *Cinematic Countrysides* (Manchester: Manchester university Press)

Fletcher, J.S, *The Enchanting North* (London: Eveleigh Nash, 1908)

Foster, H (Ed), *Postmodern Culture* (London: Pluto Press, 1985)

Geering, I, *Foot and Mouth: The Aftermath* (Ashford: Geerings of Ashford, 2002)

Gilmore, L, *The Limits of Autobiography: Trauma and Testimony* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001)

Goodman, G, *The Miner's Strike* (London: Pluto Press, 1985)

Gould, P & White, R, *Mental Maps* (London: Penguin, 1974)

Graham, C (Ed), *Foot and Mouth, Heart and Soul: A Collection of Personal Accounts of the Foot and Mouth Outbreak in Cumbria 2001* (Carlisle: Small Sister / BBC Radio Cumbria, 2001)

Grundberg, A, "On the Dissection Table: The Unnatural Coupling of Surrealism and Photography", in Squiers, C (Ed), *Over-Exposed: Essays on Contemporary Photography* (New York: The New Press, 1999), p.123-133

Guerin, F & Hallas, R (Eds), *The Image and the Witness: Trauma, Memory and Visual Culture* (London: Wallflower, 2007)

Halbwachs, M, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992)

Hall, L, *The Pitmen Painters* (London: Faber & Faber, 2007)

Hall, S, *Haweswater* (London: Faber & Faber, 2002)

Hallam, J, "Film, Class and National Identity: Re-Imagining Communities in the Age of Devolution", in Ashby, J & Higson, A (Eds), *British Cinema, Past and Present* (London: Routledge, 2000), p.261-271

Hariman, R & Lucaites, J.L, *No Caption Needed: Iconic Photographs, Public Culture, and Liberal Democracy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007)

Harris, D, "Self and Landscape", in Ziady DeLue, R and Elkins, J (Eds), *Landscape Theory* (London: Routledge, 2008), p.187-195

Herbrechter, S & Higgins, M (Eds), *Returning (to) Communities: Theory, Culture and Political Practice of the Communal* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2006)

Hill, M and Montag, W, *Masses, Classes and the Public Sphere* (London: Verso, 2000)

Hill, J, "A Working Class Hero is Something to Be? Changing Representations of Class and Masculinity in British Cinema", in Powrie, P, Davies, A & Babington, B (Eds), *The*

Trouble with Men: Masculinities in European and Hollywood Cinema (London: Wallflower, 2004), p.100-109

Hillyard, S, "Cull Maff!: The Mobilisation of the Farming Community During the 2001 Foot and Mouth Disease Epidemic" in Herbrechter, S & Higgins, M (Eds), *Returning (to) Communities: Theory, Culture and Political Practice of the Communal* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2006), p.331-345

Hillyard, S, *The Sociology of Rural Life* (Oxford: Berg, 2007)

Hillyard, S, "Farmers and Valuers: Divisions and Divisiveness and the Social Cost of F.M.D.", in Döring, M and Nerlich, B (Eds), *The Social and Cultural Impact of Foot and Mouth Disease in the UK in 2001: Experiences and Analyses* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), p.81-93

Hine, L, "Social Photography, How the Camera May Help in the Social Uplift", in Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Corrections (June 1909), in Trachtenberg, A (Ed), *Classic Essays on Photography* (New Haven: Leete's Island Books, 1980), p.109-114

Hoggart, R, *The Uses of Literacy, 17th Edition* (London: Penguin, 1986)

Howkins, A, *The Death of Rural England: A Social History of the Countryside since 1900* (London: Routledge, 2003)

Hudson, M, *Coming Back Brockens: A Year in a Mining Village* (London: Vintage, 1995)

Hutchings, P, "'When the Going Gets Tough…': Representations of the North East in Film and Television", in Faulkner, T.E. (Ed), *Northumbrian Panorama: Studies of the History and Culture of North East England* (London: Octavian Press, 1996), p.273-289

Hutchings, P, "Traditions and Transformations: Cinematic Visions of Tyneside", in Fawcett, H (Ed), *Made in Newcastle: Visual Culture* (Newcastle: Northumbria University Press, 2007), p.71-83

Jarzombek, M, "The Post-traumatic Turn and the Art of Walid Ra'ad and Krzysztof Wodiczko: From theory to Trope and Beyond", in Saltzman, L and Rosenberg, E (Eds), *Trauma and Visuality in Modernity* (Hanover, New Hampshire: Dartmouth College Press, 2006), p.249-271

Jedrzejczyk, I, Page, R, Prince, B & Young, I, *Striking Women: Communities and Coal – Photographs by Izabella Jedrzejczyk, Raissa Page, Brenda Prince and Imogen Young* (London: Pluto Press, 1986)

Jenkins, R, *Social Identity, 2nd Edition* (London: Routledge, 2004)

Jones, C, *Grafters* (London: Phaidon, 2002)

Jones, C & Novak, T, "Welfare Against the Workers: Benefits as a Political Weapon", in Beynon, H (Ed), *Digging Deeper: Issues in the Miners' Strike* (London: Verso, 1985), p.87-100

Jones, D, *Media Hits the Pits: The Media and the Coal Dispute* (London: Campaign for Press and Broadcasting Freedom, 1985)

Kant, E, *Critique of Judgement* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973)

Kaplan, E, *Trauma Culture: The Politics of Terror and Loss in Media and Literature* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2005)

Kelsey, R, "Landscape as not Belonging", in Ziady DeLue, R and Elkins, J (Eds), *Landscape Theory* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008), p.203-213

Killip, C, *In Flagrante* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1988)

Knowles, C & Sweetman, P (Eds), *Picturing the Social Landscape: Visual Methods and the Sociological Imagination* (London: Routledge, 2004)

Krauss, R & Livingston, J (Eds), *L'Amour Fou: Photography and Surrealism* (London: Hayward Gallery, 1986)

Kristeva, J, *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982)

Kwon, M, *One Place After Another: Site-Specific Art and Locational Identity* (Cambridge, Mass: the M.I.T. Press, 2004)

Law, J & Singleton, V, "Disaster: A Further Species of Trouble? Disaster and Narrative", in Döring, M & Nerlich, B, *The Social and Cultural Impact of Foot-and Mouth Disease in the UK in 2001: Experiences and Analyses* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 2009), p.229-244

Leggott, J, "Like Father?: Failing Parents and Angelic Children in Contemporary British Social Realist Cinema", in Powrie, P, Davies, A & Babington, B (Eds), *The Trouble*

with Men: Masculinities in European and Hollywood Cinema (London: Wallflower, 2004), pp.163-173

Leggott, J, *Contemporary British Cinema: From Heritage to Horror* (London: Wallflower, 2008)

Leggott, J & Hochscherf, T, "From *Launch* to *Shooting Magpies*: Locating the Amber film Collective", in Fawcett, H (Ed), *Made in Newcastle: Visual Culture* (Newcastle: Northumbria University Press, 2007), p.101-116

Levi Strauss, D, *Between the Eyes: Essays on Photography and Politics* (New York: Aperture, 2003)

Levine, D (Ed), *On Individuality and Social Forms* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971)

Leys, R, *Trauma: A Genealogy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000)

Live Theatre, *Live Theatre: Six Plays from the North East* (London: Methuen, 2003)

Lockwood, D, "Sources of Variation in Working Class Images of Society", In Bulmer, M (Ed), *Working Class Images of Society* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975), p.16-31

Lyotard, J-F, *Lessons on the Analytic of the Sublime* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994)

MacCannell, D, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Schocken, 1976)

Marsden, T, *Sustainable Communities: New Spaces for Planning Participation and Engagement* (Oxford: Elsevier, 2008)

Martin-Jones, D, "Toon on the TV: The Televisual Rebranding of Newcastle, from *Our Friends in the North* (1996) to *55° North* (2004-5)", in Fawcett, H (Ed), *Made in Newcastle: Visual Culture* (Newcastle: Northumbria University Press, 2007), p.117-132

Matless, D, *Landscape and Englishness* (London: Reaktion, 1998)

Matthews, J.H, *The Imagery of Surrealism* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1977)

McRobbie, A, "Postfeminism and Popular Culture: Bridget Jones and the New Gender Regime", in Tasker, Y & Negra, D (Eds), *Interrogating Post-Feminism: Gender and the politics of Popular Culture* (London: Duke University Press, 2007), p.27-39

Mellor, D, "Mass Observation: the Intellectual Climate" in *Camerawork, No.11* (September 1978), reproduced in Evans, J (Ed), *The Camerawork Essays: Context and Meaning in Photography* (London: Rivers Oram Press, 1997), p.132-144

Mellor, D, *No Such Thing as Society: Photography in Britain 1967-87* (London: Hayward Publishing, 2007)

Mitchell, W.J.T (Ed), *Landscape and Power, 2nd Edition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002)

Monk, C, "Underbelly UK: The 1990s Underclass Film, Masculinity and the Ideologies of 'New' Britain", in Ashby, J & Higson, A (Eds), *British Cinema, Past and Present* (London: Routledge, 2000), p.274-287

Morreall, J, *The Philosophy of Laughter and Humour* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1987)

Newby, H, *The Deferential Worker: A Study of Farm Workers in East Anglia* (London: Allen Lane, 1977)

Orwell, G, *Inside the Wale and Other Essays, 23rd Edition* (London: Penguin, 1988)

Pahl, R.E (Ed), *Readings in Urban Sociology* (Oxford: Pergamon, 1968)

Parker, T, *Red Hill: A Mining Community*, Coronet Edition (Sevenoaks: Hodder & Stoughton, 1988)

Peace, D & Pattison, K, *No Redemption* (Newcastle: Flambard Press, 2010)

Phillips, K (Ed), *Framing Public Memory* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2004)

Powrie, P, Davies, A & Babington, B (Eds), *The Trouble with Men: Masculinities in European and Hollywood Cinema* (London: Wallflower, 2004)

Priestley, J.B, *English Journey, Jubilee Edition* (London: Heinemann, 1984)

Richards, A, *Miners on Strike: Class Solidarity and Division in Britain* (Oxford: Berg, 1996)

Rojek, C, & Urry, J (Eds), *Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory* (London: Routledge, 1997)

Rosenberg, E, "Walker Evans's Depression and the Trauma of Photography", in Saltzman, L & Rosenberg, E (Eds), *Trauma and Visuality in Modernity* (Hanover, N.H: Dartmouth College Press, 2006), p.28-50

Rosenthal, M, Payne, C & Wilcox, S (Eds), *Prospects for the Nation: Recent Essays in British Landscape, 1750-1880* (New Haven: Yale, 1997)

Rowbotham, S & Beynon, H (Eds), *Looking at Class: Film, Television and the Working Class in Britain* (London: Rivers Oram Press, 2001)

Russell, D, *Looking North: Northern England and the National Imagination* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004)

Said, E, "Opponents, Audiences, Constituencies", in Foster, H (Ed), *Postmodern Culture* (London: Pluto, 1985), p.135-159

Saltzman, L and Rosenberg, E (Eds), *Trauma and Visuality in Modernity* (Hanover, New Hampshire: Dartmouth College Press, 2006)

Samuel, R, Bloomfield, B & Boanas, G (Eds), *The Enemy Within: Pit Villages and the Miners' Strike of 1984-5* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985)

Schama, S, *Landscape and Memory* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1996)

Schudson, M, *The Sociology of News* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2003)

Schwartz, B, "Let Them Eat Coal: The Conservative Party and the Strike", in Beynon, H (Ed), *Digging Deeper: Issues in the Miners' Strike* (London: Verso, 1985), p.47-68

Schwartz, B & Fountain, A, "The Role of the Media: Redefining the National Interest", in Beynon, H (Ed), *Digging Deeper: Issues in the Miners' Strike* (London: Verso, 1985), p.123-138

Seddon, V (Ed), *The Cutting Edge: Women and the Pit Strike* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1986)

Sennett, R & Cobb, J, *The Hidden Injuries of Class, 2nd Edition* (London: Faber & Faber, 1993)

Sigal, C, *Weekend in Dinlock* (London, Secker & Warburg, 1961)

Simmel, G, "The Metropolis and Mental Life" in Levine, D (Ed), *On Individuality and Social Forms* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), p.324-339

Smelser, N, "Psychological Trauma and Cultural Trauma" in Alexander et al, *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), p.31-59

Sontag, S, *On Photography*, 5th Edition (London: Penguin, 1979)

Sontag, S, *Regarding the Pain of Others* (London: Penguin, 2003

Squiers, C (Ed), *Over-Exposed: Essays on Contemporary Photography* (New York: The New Press, 1999)

Stead, J, Never the Same Again: Women and the Miners' Strike (London: The Women's Press, 1985)

Sztompka, P, "The Trauma of Social Change: A Case of Postcommunist Societies", in Alexander et al, *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), p.155-195

Tasker, Y & Negra, D (Eds), *Interrogating Post-Feminism: Gender and the politics of Popular Culture* (London: Duke University Press, 2007)

Taylor, J, A *Dream of England: Landscape, Photography and the Tourist's Imagination* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994)

Thomas, W.I and Thomas, D.S, *The Child in America: Behaviour Problems and Programs* (New York: Knopf, 1928)

Tönnies, F, *Community and Association: Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* (London: Routledge, 1955)

Trachtenberg, A (Ed), *Classic Essays on Photography* (New Haven: Leete's Island Books, 1980)

Tuan, Y-F, *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes and Values* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1974)

Urry, J, *The Tourist Gaze, 2nd Edition* (London: Sage, 2006)

Waddington, D, Wykes, M & Critcher, C, *Split at the Seams? Community, Continuity and Change after the 1984-5 Coal Dispute* (Milton Keynes: Open University, 1991)

Wainwright, H, "We are Women, We are Strong…?", in Williams, G (Ed), *Shafted: The Media, the Miners' Strike and the Aftermath* (London: Campaign for Press and Broadcasting Freedom, 2009), p.100-108

Walker, I, *So Exotic, So Homemade: Surrealism, Englishness and Documentary Photography* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007)

Waugh, E, *Brideshead Revisited*, *4th Edition* (London: Penguin, 1962)

Weber, M, *The Methodology of the Social Sciences* (New York: Free Press, 1949)

Weber, M, *Economy and Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968)

Wilkinson, E, *Clash* [1929] (Nottingham: Trent Editions, 2004)

Williams, G (Ed), *Shafted: The Media, the Miners' Strike and the Aftermath* (London: Campaign for Press and Broadcasting Freedom, 2009)

Williams, R, *The Country and the City, 2nd Edition* (St. Albans: Paladin, 1975)

Wilson, Geoffrey, *Multifunctional Agriculture: A Transition Theory Perspective* (Wallingford, Oxon: Commonwealth Agricultural Bureaux International, 2007)

Woods, A, "The Historical Roots of F.M.D. Control in Britain, 1839-2001", in in Döring, M & Nerlich, B, *The Social and Cultural Impact of Foot-and Mouth Disease in the UK in 2001: Experiences and Analyses* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 2009), p.19-36

Zerubavel, E, *Time Maps: Collective Memory and the Social Shape of the Past* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003)

Ziady DeLue, R and Elkins, J (Eds), *Landscape Theory* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008)

Zaslavsky, V, *The Neo-Stalinist State* (Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1994)

Journal Articles

Baxter, E, & Bowen, D, "Anatomy of Tourism Crisis: Explaining the Effects on Tourism of the UK Foot and Mouth Disease Epidemics of 1967-68 and 2001with Special Reference to Media Portrayal", in *International Journal of Tourism Research, No.6* (2004), p.263-273

Becker, H, S, "Photography and Sociology", in *Studies in the Anthropology of Visual Communication, No.1* (1974), p.3-26

Becker, H, "Visual Sociology, Documentary Photography and Photojournalism: It's (Almost) All a Matter of Context", in *Visual Sociology, Vol.10, No.1-2* (1995), p.5-14

Cloke, P & Thrift, N, Intra-Class Conflict in Rural Areas", in *Journal of Rural Studies, Vol.3, No.4* (1987), p.321-333

Convery, I, Bailey, C, Mort, M, & Baxter, J, "Death in the Wrong Place? Emotional Geographies of the UK 2001 Foot and Mouth Disease Epidemic", in *The Journal of Rural Studies, No.21* (2005), p.99-109

Degnen, C, "Relationality, Place and Absence: A Three Dimensional Perspective on Social Memory" in *The Sociological Review, Vol.53, No.4* (December 2005), p.729-744

Greenhalgh, P & McCafferty, A, "Coalfield Regeneration: An Initial Appraisal of the Task Force Approach in East Durham", in *Land Contamination and Reclamation, Vol.7, No.1* (1999), p.49-56

Hollywood, E, "Mining Migration and Mobility: Towards and Understanding of the Relationship between Migration and Occupation in the Context of the UK Mining Industry", in the *International Journal of Population Geography, Vol.8* (2002), p.297-314

Jennings, T, "Hunting, Shooting, & Fishing the Working Classes", in *Variant, No.34* (Spring 2009), p.25-7

Kaplan, C, "The Death of the Working Class Hero", in *New Formations, No.52* (2004), p.94-110

Kaplan, E.A, "Melodrama, Cinema and Trauma", in *Screen, Vol.42, No.2* (2001), p.201-205

Little, J & Austin, P, "Women and the Rural Idyll", in *Journal of Rural Studies, No.12*, (1996), p.101-111

Marsden, T, "New Rural Territories: Regulating the Differentiated Rural Space", in *Journal of Rural Studies, Vol.14, No.1* (Jan 1998), p.107-117

McDowell, L, "The Trouble with Men? Young People, Gender Transformations and the Crisis of Masculinity", in *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, Vol.24, No.1* (2000), p.201-209

Mellor, D, "Living Briefly in an Old Country: Tony Ray-Jones, 1966-70", in *Visual Culture in Britain, Vol.9, No.2* (2008), p.61-74

Mellor, M & Stephenson, C, "The Durham Miners' Gala and the Spirit of Community", in *Community Development Journal, Vol.40, No.3* (July 2005), p.343-351

Mort, M, Convery, I & Bailey, C, "Psychosocial Effects of the 2001 UK Foot and Mouth Disease Epidemic in a Rural Population: Qualitative Diary Based Study", in *British Medical Journal, Vol.331*, (2005), p.1234-1239

Nayak, A, "Displaced Masculinities: Chavs, Youth and Class in the Post-Industrial City", in *Sociology, Vol.40, No.5* (2006), p.813-831.

Newbury, D, "Documentary Practices and Working-Class Culture: An Interview with Murray Martin", in *Visual Studies, Vol.17, No.2* (2002), p.113-128

Nora, P, “Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memeoire”, in *Representations, No.26* (Spring 1989), p.7-24

Oates, B, “Foot and Mouth Disease: Informing the Community?”, in *Informing Science Journal*, Vol.6 (2003), p.103-114

Obourne, P, “Downing Street wants to exploit foot and mouth: to vilify farmers and modernise farming, in *The Spectator* (10/08/01)

Phillips, M, Fish, R & Agg, J, “Putting Together Ruralities: Towards a Symbolic Analysis of Rurality in the British Mass Media”, in *Journal of Rural Studies, Vol.17* (January, 2001), p.1-27

Prempeh, H, “Foot and mouth disease: the human consequences”, in *British Medical Journal, Vol.322* (10/03/2001), p.565-6

Radstone, S, “Reconceiving Binaries: the Limits of Memory”, in *History Workshop Journal, Issue 59* (2005), p.134-150

Radstone, S, “Trauma Theory: Contexts, Politics, Ethics”, in *Paragraph 30:1* (2007), p.9-19

Sigal, C & Raginsky, N, “Why Poverty in 1966? The Darker Side of the Affluent Society”. *Weekend Telegraph, Number 113*, November 25 1966, p.20-27

Stephenson, C & Wray, D, “Emotional Regeneration through Community Action in Post-Industrial Mining Communities: The New Herrington Miners’ Banner Partnership”, in *Capital & Class, No.87* (2004), p.175-199

Strangleman, T, “Networks, Place and Identities in Post-Industrial Mining Communities”, in *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, Vo.25, No.2* (2001), p.253-267

Strasser, H, “Review of: Cahnman, W.J, *Ferdinand Tönnies*: *A New Evaluation. Essays and Documents*”, in *Contemporary Sociology*, Vol. 4, No. 5 (Sep., 1975), p. 545-6

Summerfield, D, “The invention of post-traumatic stress disorder and the social usefulness of a psychiatric category”, in the *British Medical Journal, No.322* (13/01/2001), p.95-98

Wray, D, “The Relevance of Community Unionism: The Case of the Durham Miners’ Association”, in *Labour Studies Journal, Vol.34, No.4* (2009), p.507-518

Internet Articles

Abel, C, "Foot and mouth: the newspapers verdict", in *Farmers Weekly* online (04/08/2007), at http://www.fwi.co.uk/Articles/2007/08/04/105711/Foot-and-mouth-The-newspapers39-verdict.htm

BBC News Online, "Cumbria a 'green desert'", at http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/1301411.stm

BBC News Online, "The unhealthiest town in England?", at http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/health/6172627.stm

BBC News Online, "Obesity blackspot gets trainers", at http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/6039566.stm

BBC News Online, "Hirst's calf upsets farmers", at http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/2207518.stm

Bower, S, "Interview with Clive Adams, A Curator's Perspective" (2002), at http://www.greenmuseum.org/generic_content.php?ct_id=77

Bracken, P & Thomas, P, "Postpsychiatry: A New Direction for Mental Health", in *British Medical Journal* (March 2001), reproduced at http://www.academyanalyticarts.org/bracken&thomas, p.1-4

Browne, A & Harris, P, "How a rural idyll turned into a hotbed of disease: the foot and mouth disaster throws the whole of Britain's farming practices into question", in *The Observer* online version (25/02/2001), at http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2001/feb/25/footandmouth.ruralaffairs1

Cumberland & Westmorland Herald, "Council hits out at film crews", in the *Cumberland & Westmorland Herald* (10/03/2001), at http://www.cwherald.com/archive/archive/council-hits-out-at-film-crews-20010310257407.htm

Grant, L, "Calm Down Yourself", in *The Guardian* (10/07/1999), reproduced at http://www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/home/estuary/liverpool.htm

Lomax, S, "Farming Suicides Blamed on Crisis", in *The Guardian* online version (15/06/2001), at http://www.guardian.co.uk/society/2001/jun/15/socialcare.mentalhealth

Manzoor, S, "My week in the whitest place in Britain, *The Guardian* online (06/12/2006), at http://www.guardian.co.uk/society/2006/dec/06/communities

Nerlich, B, Hamilton, C.A, & Rowe, V, "Conceptualising Foot and Mouth Disease: The Socio-Cultural Role of Metaphors, Frames and Narratives", published at *metaphorik.de* (02/2002), p.90-108, at http://www.metaphorik.de/02nerlich.htm

Newsinger, J, "Together We Stand", in *Vertigo: For Worldwide Independent Film, No.11* (August 2007), Online Issue, available at http://vertigomagazine.co.uk/showarticle.php?sel=bac&siz=1&id=838

Obourne, P, "Downing Street wants to exploit foot and mouth: to vilify farmers and modernise farming, in *The Spectator* (10/08/01), reproduced at http://www.warmwell.com/warmwellarchive.html

Odone, C, "A cow is just a cow", in *The Observer* online version (04/03/2001), at http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2001/mar/04/footandmouth.comment

Ward, D, "Lakeland breed faces extinction", in *The Guardian* online (27.03.2001), at http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2001/mar/27/footandmouth.davidward

Internet Resources

Amber Collective, "Like Father", at http://www.amber-online.com/exhibitions/like-father-2001

Amber Collective, Side Gallery Exhibition Text: "The Village is a Global World", Side Gallery, 1995, reproduced at http://amber-online.com/exhibitions/the-village-is-a-global-world/detail

BBC, *BBC News Extra: British Shipbuilding in 1961*, aired 13th January 1961, from www.bbc.co.uk/archive/working

BBC News Online, "Talking Point" weblog: "Did v foot-and-mouth spoil your Easter?" at http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/talking_point/1281422.stm

BBC Radio Cumbria, *A Sense of Place, Series One, Programme One: "The County with the Hole in the Middle"* (Spring 2002), available at http://www.bbc.co.uk/cumbria/sense_of_place/prog_1.shtml

BBC Radio Cumbria, *A Sense of Place, Series One, Programme Three: The Truth about Sheep* (Spring 2002), available at http://www.bbc.co.uk/cumbria/sense_of_place/prog_3.shtml

BBC Radio Cumbria, *A Sense of Place, Series One, Programme Five: Daffodil Tinted Spectacles* (Spring 2002), available at http://www.bbc.co.uk/cumbria/sense_of_place/prog_5.shtml

BBC Radio Cumbria, *A Sense of Place, Series Two, Programme Three: "You're not from round here are you?"* (Spring 2003), available at http://www.bbc.co.uk/cumbria/sense_of_place/index.shtml

BBC Radio Cumbria, *A Sense of Place, Series Two, Programme Five: "There's nowt here for the young"* (Spring 2003), available at http://www.bbc.co.uk/cumbria/sense_of_place/series2/prog_5_young.shtml

Bennett, K, Beynon, H & Hudson, R, *Coalfield Discussion Paper, No.2: Different Places: Representations* pdf (Cardiff: Cardiff University / University of Durham, 1999), at http://www.cardiff.ac.uk/socsi/resources/Different%20Places-Representations-2.pdf

Bennett, K, Carroll, T, Lowe, P, Phillipson, J, *Coping with Crisis in Cumbria: Consequences of Foot and Mouth Disease* pdf (Newcastle: Centre for Rural Economy, Newcastle University, 2002), at http://www.ncl.ac.uk/cre/publish/pdfs/rr02.01a.pdf

Beynon, H, Hollywood, E & Hudson, R, *Coalfield Discussion Paper, No.7: Health* pdf (Cardiff: Cardiff University / University of Durham, 1999), at http://www.cf.ac.uk/socsi/resources/health%20issues%20in%20the%20coal%20districts%20-%207.pdf

British Film Institute "Amber Collective: Film and TV Credits" at http://www.screenonline.org.uk/people/id/502352/credits.html

British Film Institute, "*The Miners' Film*" at http://www.screenonline.org.uk/film/id/1054102/index.html

British Film Institute, "*Which Side Are You On?*" at http://www.screenonline.org.uk/tv/id/530268/index.html

Carlisle City Council, Carlisle City Council Meeting Documents, 05/03/2002, at http://cmis.carlisle.gov.uk/CMISWebPublic/Binary.ashx?Document=3601

Carlisle City Council, *Voices of Experience* conference pdf (2003), at http://cmis.carlisle.gov.uk/CMISWebPublic/Binary.ashx?Document=6832

Centre for Business Relationships Accountability, Sustainability & Society (BRASS), Cardiff University, at http://www.brass.cf.ac.uk/projects/Business_Impacts_Regulation_and_Management/business-impacts-regulation-and-manangement--Foot-and-Mouth-Disease.html

Clarke, C.W, *Farewell Squalor* (Easington: Easington Rural District Council, 1946), in Brisley, S, "The Peterlee project: Peterlee Report 1977 by Stuart Brisley", reproduced at http://www.peterlee-project.com/go/Peterlee+Report+1977+by+Stuart+Brisley

Cumbria County Council, "Recent Changes in Cumbria's Population", pdf (2005), available at http://www.cumbria.gov.uk/eLibrary/Content/Internet/536/673/4145/38953171941.pdf

Cumbria News and Star, "Horror on a plate", in *Cumbria News and Star* (28/07/01), at www.warmwell.com, available at http://www.warmwell.com/warmwellarchive.html

Cumbria Rural Enterprise Agency, "Distinctly Cumbrian Branding Guidelines" (2009), available at http://www.distinctlycumbrian.co.uk/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=56&Itemid=65

Cumbria Tourism, at http://www.cumbriatourism.org/about-us/default.aspx

Davies, J, "Signs of Coal", Exhibition text for *Durham Coalfield Revisited*, Side Gallery, December 2004, reproduced at http://www.amber-online.com/exhibitions/signs-of-coal-by-john-davies

DEFRA, *Tackling the Impact of Foot and Mouth Disease on the Rural Economy: Report of the Rural Task Force* pdf (London: Department of Environment, Food and Rural Affairs, 09/10/2001), at http://defra.gov.uk/footandmouth/rural/taskforce/rtf.PDF

East Durham Business Service, *Easington Borough Fact Sheet* (2007), available at http://www.edbs.co.uk/uploaded/Easington%20Fact%20Sheet.pdf

Guardian online, "Foot and Mouth gallery", at http://www.guardian.co.uk/gall/0,8542,443237,00.html

H.M. Government, D.E.T.R., *Making the Difference – A New Start for England's Coalfield Communities: Task Force Report* (London: Department of the Environment,

Transport and the Regions, 1998), available at http://www.communities.gov.uk/documents/citiesandregions/pdf/155328.pdf

H.M. Government, D.E.T.R., *The Coalfield Task Force Report: A Progress Report by the Government* (London: Department of the Environment, transport and the Regions, 1999), available at http://www.communities.gov.uk/documents/citiesandregions/pdf/131101.pdf

Hunt, M, "Amber Collective" at www.screenonline.org.uk, available at http://www.screenonline.org.uk/people/id/502352/

Hunter, I & Larner, C, *The Cultural Documents of Foot and Mouth* conference and exhibition pdf (2006), available at http://www.littoral.org.uk/HTML01/conferences/Cultural_Documents_FMD.pdf

ITN News, "Foot and Mouth Compilation" (August 2007), at http://www.itnsource.com/compilations/sciencenatureandenvironment/environment/?lr=S04080701

Lakoff, G, "The Metaphor System used to Justify War in The Gulf" (1992), available at http://www.philospophy.uoregan.edu/metaphor/lakoff-l.htm.

Lancaster University online magazine, "Foot and mouth research reveals human tragedy" (2005), at http://domino.lancs.ac.uk/Info/lunews.nsf/I/D1B80A202182AA50802570930045BF4A

McCarthy, P, Original Side Gallery exhibition text: "Unclear Family: Crook Workshop 1993", Side Gallery, 1994, at http://www.amber-online.com/exhibitions/unclear-family-crook-workshop-1993/detail

Mort, M, Convery, I, Bailey, J and Baxter, J, *The Health and Social Consequences of the 2001 Foot and Mouth Disease Epidemic in North Cumbria* pdf (Lancaster: Institute for Health, 2004), available at http://www.data-archive.ac.uk/doc/5407%5Cmrdoc%5Cpdf%5C5407finalreport.pdf

Morton, H, "Foot and mouth disease – human consequences", at BMJ online "Rapid Responses" (15/03/2001), at http://www.bmj.com/cgi/eletters/322/7286/565#13243

Newspaper Marketing Agency, "Chart 21", *N.M.A. Marketplace Charts, November 2007* (powerpoint), available at http://www.nmauk.co.uk/nma/do/live/marketPlaceCharts

Reed Business Information Limited, "Call for strategies to deal with rural trauma", (12/04/2001), available at http://www.communitycare.co.uk/Articles/2001/04/12/30825/Call-for-strategies-to-deal-with-rural-trauma.htm

Rigby, G, Exhibition text: "Durham Coalfield: Text from the Amber Catalogue, 1987", reproduced at http://www.amber-online.com/exhibitions/durham-coalfield/detail

Visit Cumbria, at http://www.visitcumbria.com/footandmouth.htm

Warmwell.com Press Archive, at http://www.warmwell.com/warmwellarchive.html

Exhibition Catalogues

Adams, C (Ed*), Love, Labour and Loss: 300 Years of British Livestock Farming in Art* (Carlisle: Tullie House Museum & Art Gallery, 2002)

Hayward Gallery, *Sublime: The Darkness and the Light* (London: South Bank Centre, 1999)

Pattison, K & Beynon, H, E*asington, August '84* (Newcastle: Amber / Side, 1984)

Filmography

Amber Films, *Bowes Line*, 1975

Amber Films, *Eden Valley*, 1994

Amber Films, *High Row*, 1974

Amber Films, *Launch*, 1973

Amber Films, *Like Father*, 2001

Amber Films, *Making the Tyne Documentaries*, 2007

Amber Films, *The Making of Shooting Magpies*, 2006

Amber Films, *The Scar*, 1997

Amber Films, *Shooting Magpies*, 2005

Artangel Media / Channel Four Television, *The Battle of Orgreave* (director: Mike Figgis), 2001

Channel Four Television, *Which Side Are You On?* (director: Ken Loach), 1984

Channel Four Television, *Strike: When Britain Went to War* (director: Janice Sutherland), 2003

Platform Films, *The Miners' Campaign Tapes* (various directors), 1984

The Rural Media Company / Eskleyside Agricultural Society, *Shroves* (director: John Humphreys), 2001

Primary Sources

Darwell, John: Interview with author, 8th July 2009 (transcript available on request)

Darwell, John, "Wondering Aloud": Artist's talk, *Committed to Memory* exhibition, Tullie House Museum and Art Gallery, Carlisle, 9th June 2007

Hansen, Pål: E-mail interview with author, 3rd February 2010

Olick, J, keynote paper, "Is the Memory Boom Over, and What Would this Mean for Memory Studies?", at *Memory, Media, Global Formations* conference, University of Greenwich, 01/05/2009

Other Sources

Gallery visitor comments book: Darwell, John, *Committed to Memory*, Tullie House Museum and Art Gallery, Carlisle, May-July, 2007

Gallery visitor comments book: May, Nick, *'Til the Cows Come Home*, Tullie House Museum and Art Gallery, Carlisle, May-June, 2006